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ABSTRACT

A study is reported that examined the way staff development functions in schools, the effects of staff development, and the interaction between staff development and other activities and conditions in school systems. The study took place in a large urban school district (in the Southeast) that is heavily committed to and involved in staff development. Following descriptions and discussions of: (1) how power and authority are distributed in the system; (2) the functions of staff development and the motivations of participants; and (3) the capacity of staff development programs to maintain direction, maintain coordination, and exercise control over resources, two related arguments are advanced. (1) the way schools are presently organized places considerable pressure on the staff development enterprise to keep things from getting worse and distracts attention from the intended purpose of staff development, which is to make things better, and (2) until the maintenance system of schools (i.e., the system that keeps things from getting worse) is considerably enriched, there is little likelihood that change-oriented staff development can systematically succeed. On the basis of the descriptive material and the analysis, some concrete suggestions are made regarding how staff development might be improved. Appended are materials relating to the initial research questions, program selection criteria, descriptions of the programs studied, and recommendations made by the researchers on the question of merit pay. (CMG)

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UNDERSTANDING AND MANAGING STAFF DEVELOPMENT IN AN URBAN SCHOOL SYSTEM: FINAL REPORT ON NIE CONTRACT 400-79-0056

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Preface

The research project reported here was supported by the National Institute of Education under contract number 400-79-0056. The report that follows contains descriptions of research methodology, findings, conclusions and implications. The purpose of this preface is more to make the reader aware of the history and perspectives of this research project than it is to discuss its technical qualities and/or findings and implications.

This project actually began two years prior to the time it was funded, for in 1978 the co-principal investigators met and discussed their mutual concerns regarding the management and governance of staff development in public schools. These conversations continued and over time they evolved into more formalized discussions involving increasingly expanding groups. The purpose of these discussions became to identify the barriers that seem to stand in the way of school systems developing and implementing staff development programs responsive to teacher needs, administrator needs and system needs. Many of the people named on the title page were involved in these preliminary discussions.

By the time NIE promulgated the RFP that gave rise to this specific research project, the co-principal investigators and many of their colleagues in the school system and the university had agreed upon the kinds of problems they needed to address. And, they all agreed that they needed to know more about how staff development operated in the particular system where this study was to be conducted. Furthermore, the co-principal investigators, one university based and one public school based, had developed a collegial relationship in

which both realized each had much to offer to the other in their mutual quest for excellence in teaching and in teacher education.

Furthermore, as the contents of this report and the results of this project will indicate, mutual support between public school practitioners and university researchers expanded to include increasingly larger circles within the two organizations. Such mutual trust and involvement could, of course, make findings suspect, reports biased or data collection procedures faulty. Perhaps this happened, we think it did not. Indeed, we think our study is quite scientific for we define science as disciplined reason. And, like Waller (1932), we believe that at the present state of the art in the social sciences, research findings should not get too far ahead of common sense and sometimes we are lucky if research doesn't fall behind common sense. Like House (1980), we also believe that effective evaluations must be convincing to an audience of scholars; but evaluations that count must also be persuasive to local audiences. As the last chapter of this report will indicate, this research project has in fact served to persuade local practitioners. It is up to the community of scholars and practitioners to decide whether what we report is convincing. Finally, like Dubin (1970), we recognize that there is a difference between powerful explanation and precise measurement. In our view, the field of staff development presently needs powerful explanations more than it needs precise measurements. Powerful explanations are what we have attempted to provide.

One of the peculiar characteristics of this research project is that the operating style routinely involved many people from both public schools and universities. In the end, therfore, it was an arbitrary decision as to whose names should be included on the title

page and in what order. Many people whose names do not appear could have been included. Some could have been designated differently, for many participated in various roles at various times. Recognizing that someone must be held accountable, however, the co-principal investigators take responsibility for any weaknesses in this study and thank others for its strengths. We know that what is said may not always be pleasing to staff developers (including ourselves) nor will it always be satisfying to researchers (including ourselves). Our hope, however, is that this report will raise serious questions in the minds of staff developers and researchers which they can pursue with more certainty and precision than we were able to do here. Most of all, our hope is that others from the university community and the public schools will find the opportunity, as we have, to take each other seriously, for we know that none of those involved in this project will approach their craft in the way they would have had they not had this mutual experience. Furthermore, as a result of this experience, we have become persuaded that full and honest collaboration between and among researchers and practitioners is the only way to assure that theory will inform and be informed by practice. We hope this report will help persuade the reader that this is so.

At this point in the preface, it seems appropriate to thank those persons who have contributed to the success of this project. We tried various ways of deciding who to mention. Even by the most narrow formulas we could never lower the list of people to whom we owe a debt of gratitude for time contributions of more than 24 hours to less than 100 people. There were also many people who did much more than even time commitments would indicate. Therefore, we have decided to say thanks to all and trust that those who should be thanked will know who they are.

We would, however, especially like to thank the Superintendent of the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools, Jay M. Robinson, and the Dean of the School of Education at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, William Self, for their material and moral support of this project. Without this support we could not have managed this task. Both of these persons used the prerogatives of their office to provide physical and staff support for this research project even before the funding agency officially notified us that funding would be forthcoming. This type of support continued throughout the project. Thank you both.

Finally, we owe a special debt of gratitude to Joseph Vaughan who worked with us as a colleague and friend as well as an official representative of NIE. There are few representatives of government agencies who would be willing to make site visits at their own expense and on their own time when governmental funding did not permit them to do it. Joe did it and we thank him. He also read a couple of thousand pages of preliminary material and made numerous suggestions, some of which we rejected but most of which we found useful. Thanks Joe.

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Chapter One

The Site, the Study Design, and a Preview of Conclusions

Introduction

Clear and comprehensive conceptualizations about the operation and effects of staff development in a school system are generally absent from the literature. Also absent are propositional statements which can be tested. Recognizing that these deficiencies seriously compromise the ability of practitioners to systematically design, manage and evaluate staff development programs, this project, funded by the National Institute of Education, examined the way staff development functions in schools, the effects of staff development and the interaction between staff development and other activities and conditions present in school systems. The perspective from which this project proceeded was sociological in nature with organizational theory and the sociology of occupations being especially important.

Setting of the Study

This study was conducted in a large (75,000 plus students) urban school system in the Southeastern United States. This school system has a history of strong commitment to and involvement in staff development. Since 1976, the school system has developed and maintained a locally financed Teaching Learning Center. This center routinely serves approximately 1,000 teachers per month. In addition, one entire school building has been converted into a Staff Development

Center. The Staff Development Center has been designated as a center for graduate study by the local university. It provides office space for university personnel in charge of field based programs and classroom space for workshops and course offerings from six universities. The central staff development system offers between 300 and 400 separate workshops annually. In addition, three universities were conducting site-based degree programs during the period of this study. The school system is also involved in a multi-agency Consortium that is empowered to offer advanced sixth year (Specialist) level certificates and to work cooperatively with participating universities in the conduct of master's degree programs as well.

In addition to these highly visible centrally sponsored activities, there are 94 persons, locally referred to as coordinating teachers (C.T.s), one of whom is assigned to each school building and explicitly charged with responsibility for conducting and managing staff development and curriculum development activity at the building level. These persons have no regular classroom duties. Funding for the position is entirely from district sources. The system has also funded an Incentive Pay Program that, in effect, provides tuition remission for any teacher who decides to systematically pursue an advanced certificate program. (The cost of this latter program alone for the 1981-1982 school year was approximately one half million dollars).

In addition to the activity indicated above, the school system has aggressively pursued outside funding to support developmental activity focused on a variety of equity issues. For example, during the time this study was being conducted, the school system was responsible for implementing and managing a Bilingual Education Program,

a Sex Equity Program, and an Indian Education Program. In addition, the school system sponsors a locally funded Employees' Assistance Program which provides confidential counseling services for any employees who are experiencing personal difficulties (e.g., alcoholism).

By almost any standard, this school system is heavily involved in and committed to staff development. For example, the funds expanded for C. T. salaries, the Teaching Learning Center and the Staff Development Center alone place this system among the highest category identified by Moore and Hyde (1980). ~~Furthermore,~~ On a reputational basis, personnel from this school system are clearly among the leaders in the field of staff development. ~~For example,~~ Over the period in which this study was being conducted, the university-based researchers observed numerous occasions upon which individuals from the school system were called on to serve as consultants to a variety of national groups (e.g., RAND Corporation, N.I.E., National Science Foundation and Teachers' Center Exchange). Persons in central staff development roles in the school system occupy or have occupied numerous leadership positions in various national organizations concerned with staff development (e.g., ASCD). Furthermore, the fact that this commitment emanates from the highest levels in the system is beyond doubt. As one teacher summarized the matter, "All superintendents have to make their mark. This superintendent's mark is going to be staff development." Thus, the setting in which this study was conducted provided an ideal site to study staff development especially if one was interested in finding wide variety, high commitment and reasonable assurances of high competence all in one place. There are few school systems where all three of these conditions come together so clearly or so well.

As will be seen, however, in spite of the apparently atypical positive nature of this school system vis-a-vis staff development, some of the problems experienced in the conduct of staff development were quite typical. Teachers frequently complained that staff development was not responsive to their needs. Numerous administrators and teachers were distressed with the fact that staff development interfered with the routine of school life. Some saw staff development as a waste of time and money. There was generally a great deal of uncertainty regarding the future of any form of staff development and a feeling that "this too shall pass." On many occasions, when staff development activity was scheduled, it was cancelled in favor of some higher priority item. Indeed, many suggested almost anything had priority over staff development. Finally, the linkage between program improvement and development and staff development was usually vague and sometimes seemed nonexistent.

Thus, in a crude sort of way, the conditions of the research site selected provide a natural control over some of the "variables" that are typically used to explain the "failures" of staff development programs. Commitment, variety and competence all were present in the research site. Therefore, lack of commitment, lack of variety or lack of competence could not be used to explain the source of the difficulties observed. Other explanations were called for. The intent of this report is to illuminate what these explanations might be and how they were developed.

Description of the Study

The study reported here was based on two assumptions. First, it was assumed that staff development is an organizational response to

internal and/or external conditions. Staff development programs and activities typically focus attention on the training of individuals. However, the purpose of this training is to establish conditions that assure the effective and efficient operation of school programs. Thus, the focus of staff development is on the organization as well as people. Second, it was assumed that since one of the primary aims of staff development is to affect job related performances, it would be useful to conceive of staff development as a form of occupational socialization. Here the term occupational socialization means those processes and procedures that are employed to develop in individuals the skills, knowledge, attitudes and values that are perceived to be essential or desirable to carrying out the occupational roles the individual is assigned. Given these assumptions, it seemed essential to review the literature dealing with the sociology of complex social organizations and the sociology of occupations. The purpose of this review was to identify concepts and variables that were suggestive of differences that might make a difference in the ways staff development programs operate and the effects such programs might have.

Given the concepts and variables identified from this review, a preliminary list of research questions was developed. (See Appendix A for a listing of the initial research questions). The intent was to use these questions as a framework within which more comprehensive descriptions of alternative forms of staff development could be developed. These descriptions would, in turn, serve as the primary data base from which subsequent analysis would proceed.

Data Collection and Analysis

The basic form the analysis took has been described in the literature as the constant comparative method (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). As descriptions were developed and patterns were perceived, preliminary explanatory propositions were developed. These propositions suggested new leads and created the need for more or different forms of data. The data collected as a result of these propositions were then fed back into prior descriptions as well as used as the means of disciplining the emerging conceptualizations and explanations.

As the reader has probably already sensed, the basic methodological stance taken in this research project was that of a qualitative field researcher. It was assumed that the present level of empirical and theoretical understanding of staff development processes and issues was not sufficiently sophisticated to permit researchers to experimentally test any but the most trivial propositional statements about staff development. Indeed, it was this assumption that gave rise to this study in the first place. It was one of the primary purposes of this study to move toward the development of propositional statements regarding staff development that might later be tested in a variety of settings. Qualitative field research methodology is especially well suited for such purposes.

Procedurally, three basic data collection techniques were employed. These were: (a) interviews (b) participant and non-participant observation and (c) document reviews. All data collected were coded so that they could be brought to bear upon the original descriptive research questions that guided the study as well as on new research questions and propositions that emerged as the study proceeded. Intensive data collection occurred over two academic years, autumn 1979 to

autumn 1981, and less intensive data collection was occurring up to the preparation of the present report (autumn 1982). The university-based co-principal investigator spent an average of two person days per week in the school site for the entire two years. In addition, five other university-based researchers spent, among them, an average of three person days per week in the school site during the first year of data collection and approximately two person days per week during the second year.

The activity of the university-based researchers was supplemented by data collection and observations by five practitioners who were employed in the school system, and who were recognized as members of the research team. Methodologically, these five persons played the role of key informants and participant observers (e.g., Whyte, 1943). This initial cadre of key informants included the Assistant Superintendent for Human Resources (who was also co-principal investigator), a curriculum specialist and a classroom teacher who also served as a site-based research assistant. As the project developed, other practitioners began to assume the role of key informants. Indeed, as of the fall of 1981, 20 persons from the local school system could be identified who had played an active part in data collection. Furthermore, during the course of the research project, university researchers formally interviewed over 250 more persons and had informal conversations with at least as many more. Though no effort was made to develop a random sample for interviewing, every effort was made to assure that those persons interviewed represented the widest possible range of perceptions regarding staff development and the widest possible range of roles. For example, during the course of this research project, every top level administrator in the school system was interviewed. Every

teacher leader who could be identified was interviewed. (Thirty-two persons who occupied formal positions of leadership among teachers or who were identified by teacher leaders as being influential were interviewed.) In addition, approximately 100 other teachers were formally interviewed in connection with one or another of the staff development projects being studied (See Appendix C for a brief description of each of the projects initially selected for the study). These interviews were supplemented by interviews with a variety of curriculum specialists, building principals, coordinating teachers and others who played roles in the conduct of staff development activities in the school system. (Appendix B indicates the criteria that were used in the selection of programs to be studied.)

Initially, the intent was to develop detailed descriptions of 10 to 20 specific programs, workshops or staff development activities. However, as data collection and analysis proceeded, it became clear that while individual programs and activities could serve as the foci of the study, it would be necessary to expand data collection activity beyond the limited confines of individual programs. For example, it was often the case that those directly involved in a program only vaguely understood how decisions regarding the program were made. Clearly, if the researchers were to understand how staff development programs operated, it would be necessary to seek data from persons whose roles and public performances gave them no apparent direct involvement in the programs being studied. Thus, it was found that to study a staff development program, one must study as well the school system in which the program is embedded.

In the initial stages of the study, university researchers took the lead in identifying persons to be interviewed and in conducting

these interviews. Practitioner members of the research team scheduled these interviews and "opened doors." Simultaneously, practitioners were called upon to review the research questions initially posed and to indicate where they perceived these questions to be deficient, trivial or irrelevant. (See Appendix D for the criteria practitioners used in reviewing these research questions.) Supplementing both of these activities, university researchers and practitioners began to accumulate documents related to programs and issues of concern. Interviews were continually being transcribed, coded and reviewed.

By the spring of 1980, the university researchers had developed what they considered to be some relatively accurate descriptions of most of the key programs being studied. Furthermore, these descriptions had been communicated to key informants in order to gain their reactions and suggestions. (See Schlechty and Noblit, 1982; Vance, Whitford and Joslin, 1981 for a description of some of the strategies used to facilitate these communications.) During the summer of 1980, the university researchers met on a daily basis for one full month to systematically review descriptions and to begin to develop a more holistic accounting of the operation of the staff development system being studied. The results of this preliminary analysis were committed to writing and subsequently reviewed in a workshop setting by 20 practitioners representing a variety of roles in the system. The results of this review were used to inform future data collection activity and to suggest new frames of analysis. Over the course of the next year, 1980-81, the university-based co-principal investigator wrote and rewrote a variety of interpretive documents which were reviewed by a wide range of key informants as well as by members of the university research team and the N.I.E. project monitor. At the same time, addi-

tional data were being collected. In fact, some of the richest data were collected as a result of group interviews where practitioners were asked to react to one or another of the events the researchers were attempting to describe and analyze. Furthermore, as the nature of these interpretations became known and understood by various constituencies in the school system, the university-based co-principal investigator was frequently called on to attend meetings in the role of consultant. These meetings produced additional data and insights.

A Collaborative Approach

This research project was in the largest sense of the word an interactive and collaborative one. Practitioners were involved in every step of the project and without this involvement, the project would not have been possible.

It is important to note that the nature of this involvement changed the phenomena being studied just as it changed the perceptions and conceptualizations the university researchers initially brought to the task. For example, one of the key themes developed in an initial document had to do with difficulties staff developers had in systematically coordinating staff development activities and with the lack of a coherent set of policies to guide that coordination. Subsequently, a variety of actions have been taken aimed at developing a more coherent set of procedures for formulating staff development policy. To illustrate the impact of practitioners' perspectives on the researchers, the following is offered as an example. The university researchers entered this research project with the tacit assumption that the only meaningful way to assess the merit of staff development programs was to assess the effectiveness of these programs in pro-

ducing change. (As Griffin's paper (1983) indicates, such an assumption has widespread currency among staff developers.) Over time, however, this view was fundamentally altered. As later sections of this report will indicate, it is now argued that one of the primary functions of staff development is to make it possible for school systems to adapt to changes imposed by forces outside the control of staff developers and/or to keep things from getting worse while adaptive mechanisms are being put in place by persons other than those concerned with staff development.

It is acknowledged that the data collection procedures and the analytic procedures employed in this study encouraged interactions that, from an experimentalist perspective, might be viewed as "contaminating." However, it has come to be the university researcher's view (see Schlechty and Noblit, 1982) that persuasive evaluations (i.e, evaluations that lead people to act) necessarily involve such interactions. What practitioners need and what they feel they need are more than facts and something in addition to "scientific evidence." Conventional forms of evaluation tend to overwhelm practitioners with facts. Practitioners know, for example, that much of what they do in the name of staff development is not honored by those who participate in it. Furthermore, they believe that there are many who participate in and support staff development who are not particularly concerned with evidence that the staff development activity is having the effects it is supposed to have. Practitioners also know that the way staff development activity is typically organized and managed, there is sometimes little chance the activity could have systematic (i.e., wide spread and uniform) effects whether those effects be for good or for ill. Yet, they may also believe at the same time that the best

hope for improving schools resides in systematically improving the quality of employee performance in schools. They know that improving the quality of employee performance requires a sustained commitment to staff development. Furthermore, they believe that if existing forms of staff development cannot somehow be linked to the effective and efficient operation of schools, there is little likelihood that commitment to staff development will be sustained in a time of fiscal retrenchment. This combination of knowledge and beliefs is extremely significant. If these facts are to be dealt with, what practitioners need and what they feel they need are clear and lucid summations of what is going on around them, and as a result, what is happening around them and to them. Furthermore, as Mills (1959) has observed, the promise of the sociological imagination is that concepts and ideas can be developed which liberate men and women from the pressure of their daily lives and the immediate experiences they have so that (a) they have more control over their lives and (b) they are better able to evaluate and give meaning to those experiences they gain in carrying out their roles. This report is an attempt to provide some of these concepts and ideas.

The data collection procedures and analytic devices employed in this study admittedly lack quantitative precision. The hope is that what is sacrificed in precision will be compensated for through powerful qualitative explanation (Dubin, 1970).

Some Up-Front Conclusions

This report is based on a variety of case studies of staff development efforts in one large urban school system and a detailed study of the context in which these efforts exist. Some of these case

studies are available in published form (e.g., Whitford, 1981; Joslin, 1982). Others are presently being prepared for publication as are a variety of short essays regarding one analytic point or another. In addition, this report is based on practitioner reactions and commentaries regarding the content of these case studies and essays.

As Griffin (1983) observes, it is now axiomatic that the characteristics of settings in which staff development occurs strongly influence the success of the staff development effort. The difficulty, of course, is in developing useful descriptions of these settings (i.e., the context of staff development) and in determining which features of these settings are most influential or significant in determining the effects staff development will have. No single study can provide definitive answers to the perplexities and complexities these difficulties present. However, the study reported here does suggest some possible directions in which answers might be sought. The data collected in the course of this study and the subsequent analyses have led to the following general conclusions:

1. Establishing the capacity to maintain control and direction is one of the most critical problems confronting persons who would use staff development as a means of initiating change.

2. The source of the problems related to direction and control is generally located in the fact that control over the most important elements that must be coordinated if direction is to be maintained (i.e., control over fiscal resources, program decisions, program evaluation, and personnel assignments) is generally diffuse throughout the system.

3. Those programs and activities that are located in the authority structure of the school so that the elements identified above can be coordinated from a single office, or through a formal coalition of offices, are more likely to have systematic, change oriented effects than are those programs that depend on voluntary cooperation.

4. Because most change oriented staff development is not located in the authority structure in ways that facilitates coordination, most staff development programs are peculiarly vulnerable to co-optation for the purpose of serving the maintenance needs of persons and systems. For example, schools are systems of scarce rewards and the ethos of schools encourages that rewards be equally distributed. In public education, differential rewards for differential contributions, is practiced largely only in relation to role groups (e.g., principals are paid more than teachers). Furthermore, some role groups get more or less than others regardless of their actual contributions. Participation in staff development is one of the few mechanisms available to schools to assure that the limited rewards available can be and in fact are distributed on a differential basis related to contribution within equivalent positions. Put differently, one of the effects of staff development is to assure that schools can distribute rewards unequally when the traditional structure of schools encourages equal distribution of rewards.

5. As a result of the conditions described above, the manifest function of staff development (i.e., to produce change) is less frequently obtained than might otherwise be the case; but the same conditions encourage staff development to serve an equally important function (i.e., the function of maintaining persons and maintaining the system). Furthermore, regardless of the success of staff development in producing or supporting change, staff development as presently constituted does make it possible for the system to respond to changes imposed on the system from a variety of sources external to the staff development enterprise. Under the stressful conditions produced by larger societal forces, schools are compelled to change in ways that those who are required to implement the change do not fully comprehend or with which they do not sympathize. Given these conditions, some mechanism for adapting to these societal pressures must be developed. Staff development is one such adaptive mechanism.

Assuming the conclusions presented above are valid, one is left with the question, "Why then do staff developers insist that the programs they create do produce systematic change especially in the face of evidence to the contrary?" (Indeed, staff developers seldom seek evidence of change, or other evaluative evidence, except of course, for consumer satisfaction checklists.) The reason, we believe, is obvious. Most persons with strong commitments to staff development are people oriented, as opposed to system oriented. They understand, or believe, that the

primary aim of their work should be individual teachers and the needs these individuals express. They also believe that many of these needs have little to do with change or improvement. The need is for maintenance in a reward starved, status starved system. (Preventing teacher burn-out does not make the teacher better, it simply prevents a good teacher from getting worse.) Furthermore, staff developers are generally aware that schools, where resources are scarce and pressures for improvement are great, are not fertile territory for gaining access to support for programs that are expressly intended to "keep things from getting worse." (We did, however, observe one such program in this school system, (the Employee Assistance Program), and this program proceeded from an explicit Board of Education mandate.) Thus, staff developers are prone to legitimize what they do in terms of change, even though they understand that maintenace is more likely to be the result. (Coordinating teachers (school level staff developers) were particularly outspoken on this point.)

A more cynical response to the question indicated above would be that those who conduct staff development are ignorant of the facts. The results of this study, however, do not support such a conclusion. Indeed, the contrary seems to be the case. Those who are in charge of staff development activity, at least in the school system studied here, were remarkably sensitive to the fact that much of what they did had little chance of producing the changes their actions were intended to produce. For example, one person in the school system put the matter this way: "Given all the people who have to be pleased and all the persons who have a little piece of the action, it is difficult to do anything systematic in staff development."

Another cynical explanation is that staff developers have a callous disregard for the facts and just "keep on keeping on" in spite of what they know, because the job they do meets their own needs for status and rewards. Such a view is not supported by the evidence available in this study. For example, in the school system in which this study was conducted, those persons most heavily involved in the conduct of staff development activity (i.e., staff developers) and those persons who most frequently volunteered to participate in staff development programs were typically drawn from the population that enjoyed relatively high status in the system or who were judged by others to be "successful."

One of the most frequent complaints from staff developers was that "those who need it don't get it and those who get it don't need it." Simultaneously, those who enjoyed a reputation among participants and peers for running staff development programs of high quality were frequently called on to "volunteer" to run one more workshop or conduct one more activity, frequently without pay and usually without public recognition. Those who most frequently were called on to conduct staff development activity were, on an hourly basis, the least well paid in the system and the status they enjoyed was usually marginal. For example, building level coordinating teachers who were charged with staff development responsibility at the building level were paid on a teacher level salary. Teachers, however, typically were released from official school duties two to three hours earlier than were coordinating teachers. Furthermore, coordinating teachers routinely volunteered extra time (e.g., summer vacation time and evenings) to support planning efforts or program development efforts. Some teachers and many administrators did the same,

of course, but for teachers, at least, this form of "volunteerism" was not as routine. In addition, numerous other persons associated with staff development voluntarily gave additional time to their task. In this setting, at least, involvement in and commitment to staff development significantly increased the amount of time individuals spent on the job. Furthermore, the economic benefits and status gains in no way were commensurate with these additional commitments. Building principals who were by reputation most committed to staff development were also observed to be among those who spend the most time on the job. Curriculum specialists and coordinating teachers who were most actively involved in staff development activity also spent substantially more time at work, and it was infrequent that these persons received additional pay for additional work.

Perhaps more important, a strong commitment to staff development was often associated with marginal status in the system. Males less frequently than females took leadership roles in staff development though males dominated the administrative structure of the system. Similarly, those males who did take active roles in staff development were prone to be stigmatized as "not administrative material." For example, the teacher who became the school based research assistant for this project aspired to a principalship. He was advised by numerous experienced principals and other line administrators that a too close association with staff development would jeopardize his chances for promotion.

As will be more fully elaborated later, the system herein under study seemed to be in a stage of transition. For example, the individual mentioned above was appointed to a principalship as were numerous other

individuals associated with this project as well as others clearly identified with staff development. Thus, it may be that the Superintendent's strong commitment to staff development was and is having impact on the norms that govern the allocation of status and rewards. It is, however, too early to tell whether this is the case. Furthermore, the more important point is that those who were and those who are associated with staff development entered their present roles under conditions that suggested that clear and visible commitment to staff development was not the most advantageous route "up" the organization. Thus, it seems clear that a cynical interpretation of the reasons for involvement in or commitment to staff development by individuals, especially individuals with clear indentities in the staff development enterprise, is suspect.

Assuming ignorance and/or self-interests do not account for the continuing commitment to staff development and, therefore, assuming that most who support staff development do so in the full knowledge that the possibility of significantly influencing the system is very limited (at least under the present circumstances), one is left with the perplexing question, "Why, then, does a system support staff development and why do people participate?" As indicated earlier, our conclusion with regard to this matter is straightforward. School systems, like other organizations, must be maintained as well as improved. Unlike other organizations, however, school systems have few resources available to serve maintenance functions. The consequence is that for whatever flexible and noncategorical resources become available, there is strong pressure to divert these resources to serve necessary maintenance functions. Because few staff development programs are located in the

authority structure in ways that make control over needed resources easy, the co-optation of these resources for maintenance purposes becomes routine. Furthermore, there is a faint understanding (sometimes stated explicity) that this is the case. The fact is that maintenance is a valued function in schools, just as it is in other organizations. However, maintenance is not as legitimate in schools as it is in well run business enterprises (e.g., Pascal and Athos, 1981, Peters and Waterman, 1982).

A Caveat

In the conduct of this study, numerous programs and activities were observed that violated some or all of the conclusions presented above. For example, there can be little doubt that the system observed has had unusual success in surmounting the difficulties presented by forced busing. Indeed, this system was recently singled out by a nationally prominent figure as one of the few school systems where "busing has worked and the intentions of busing were realized." Local informants attribute this fact to the effects of staff development. As one put it, "Staff development, more than any other thing, helped us to keep the doors open." If these observations and comments can be taken at face value, it is clear that staff development has been effective in the school system. However, staff development did not create the conditions to which it responded. Rather, staff development, provided an adaptive mechanism to support the implementation of externally imposed change.

Similarly, there were numerous occasions upon which the researchers observed or heard testimony of a variety of positive effects of staff development programs. Indeed, in every program or activity studied, a substantial proportion (usually a majority) of the participants reported

that they felt the program was good for them or for someone else. Furthermore, in most instances, these reports were quite specific. For example, many teachers who participated in a widely disparaged staff development effort aimed at introducing a reading management system indicated that they felt "others" needed to be reminded of the importance of basic skills. Indeed, some went so far as to suggest that they too needed such reminding.

The point is that in individual cases (and sometimes the number of individuals was, relatively speaking, quite large), staff development in this system did seem to have its intended effects. Thus, those who would defend staff development as an instrument of change would find much in the data collected in this project to support their biases. On the other hand, those who believed that school based staff development activity is basically ineffective in producing change would find much to support their bias as well. Thus, the school system in which this study was conducted paradoxically provides nurturance for several different biases one might have about the staff development enterprise.

These contradictory data constitute major problems for a researcher or evaluator. There is, for example, no definitive judgment which can be rendered regarding the effects and effectiveness of staff development aimed at individual school sites. Several cases which one might wish to make could be made. Furthermore, once the cases were made, one could locate many vocal proponents of the conclusion advanced and an equal number of equally vocal dissidents from that conclusion. In a broader sense, however, the variety of perspectives that could be supported by whatever conclusions were drawn provides an unusual setting in which to study alternative forms of staff development and the effects these

alternative forms seem to have. Indeed, the sheer variety of staff development programs and activities present in the school system studied provides a unique laboratory for the study of staff development generally.

A Point of View

One of the primary purposes of this study was to develop a conceptual framework from which to evaluate the effects and effectiveness of staff development programs. The nature of the term evaluation suggests concepts like good and bad, right and wrong, appropriate and inappropriate. Therefore, there is some compulsion to pronounce a verdict regarding the relative merit and worth of the staff development system under examination. Given the state of the art in the evaluation of staff development programs and staff development systems, any verdict rendered would likely be suspect. For example, if one employed certain criteria (e.g., the quantity of staff development activity or the amount of resources committed to staff development activity), the superiority of the system studied here is beyond dispute. Indeed, even without refined or discriminating analysis, it is easy to demonstrate that the amount of system resources committed to staff development in the system herein studied is equal to and in excess of the resources committed to staff development by the most active system reported by Moore and Hyde (1980). Furthermore, internal and external evaluations of various staff development programs are at least as effective (by conventional measures) as are other staff development programs in other school systems.

There is certainly no reason to believe that the quality of staff development programs in the system studied is any worse than the quality in other systems and the quantity is generally far greater. Furthermore,

the successes the system had in confronting a variety of externally induced changes (e.g., desegregation via forced busing) and the significance local officials attach to staff development accounting for that success suggests that qualitatively staff development programs in the local system may be superior to alternatives in many other systems. Indeed, we believe researchers and evaluators would need to search far and use very narrow criteria before they would find a significant number of school systems that had staff development programs that had more salutarious effects on individuals, school faculties or the school system generally than were observed in this school system.

In spite of these observations, the effects and effectiveness of the staff development programs observed were frequently known to be quite marginal in terms of their intended effects. Put directly, in the system studied, the data support the assertion that staff development does produce some change, but the change produced is not nearly of the magnitude hoped for or claimed by some proponents of staff development. Furthermore, the evidence supports the assertion that staff development has many unanticipated salutarious effects on the system that its critics ignore. Unfortunately, the failure of proponents to consider the unintended effects of staff development and the penchant of critics to ignore these effects distracts thoughtful attention from the ways in which staff development serves and fails to serve the end of quality of instruction in schools. One further purpose of this report is to highlight those features of staff development that are overlooked by proponents and critics alike.

Organization of the Remainder of the Report

The remainder of this report is organized into four chapters. The following chapter (Chapter Two) is intended to illuminate the general context from which the above conclusions were derived. The specific purpose of this chapter is to describe the ways in which power and authority are distributed in this school system (and, we believe, many others) and the ways in which power and authority relative to staff development affect the operation and effectiveness of the staff development enterprise generally.

Chapter Three centers attention on the functions staff development serves in school systems. In this chapter, it is suggested that in addition to the often noted change function, staff development serves to "keep things from getting worse" (i.e., maintenance). Furthermore, it is suggested that the forces that motivate persons to participate in staff development are considerably more varied than program designers sometimes understand or acknowledge.

Chapter Four advances the notion that the first step in evaluating staff development programs has to do with evaluating the capacity of these programs to maintain direction, maintain coordination and exercise control over resources. In this chapter, some suggestions are made regarding the sources of variance in the degree to which staff development programs and activities can maintain direction, coordination and control.

Chapter Five is likely to be perceived as the most controversial chapter in this report for it is our intent to convey to the reader some general impressions developed as a result of this research project regarding the problems and prospects of staff development in the public

schools of this nation. In essence, it will be argued that the way schools are presently organized places considerable pressure on the staff development enterprise to keep things from getting worse and distracts attention from the intended purpose of staff development which is to make things better. Furthermore, it is argued that until the maintenance system of schools (i.e., the system that keeps things from getting worse) is considerably enriched, there is little likelihood that change-oriented staff development can systematically succeed.

Given this line or argument, some concrete suggestions are made regarding how schools might be reorganized and staff development integrated into that reorganized system so that school personnel can keep things from getting worse while they endeavor to make them better.

Chapter Two

Organizational Context

If there is such a thing as an axiomatic statement in the field of staff development, it would probably contain three elements: (a) the context in which staff development occurs has a direct effect on the likelihood the activity will succeed in its goals, (b) the building level unit is the most significant unit to be taken into account when attempting to design or evaluate staff development programs (Indeed, some go so far as to suggest that the only effective forms of staff development are those that are focused on building level faculties.), and (c) the support and involvement of leaders (especially building principals) is crucial in understanding the effects of staff development in schools.

The results of the present study do not necessarily challenge any of these elements. Indeed, there is a sense in which everything found in this study tends to support them. For example, it was found that there was wide variability between and among school units with regard to the degree to which staff were involved in staff development activities. Similarly, it was found that there was considerable variation in the way local building staff responded to centrally initiated staff development activity. It was also observed that, in those schools where there was heavy involvement in building level initiated activity or wide participation in system sponsored activity, the building principal was likely to play an active and assertive role in procuring

resources, scheduling meetings and sometimes becoming directly involved as a participant or as an instructor. It was also found to be much easier to develop evidence that a staff development program had systematic effects on instructional programs when the program focused on entire school staffs or departments.

In spite of these confirming data, there were many situations that did not seem to square with unequivocal or simple explanations. For example, it was frequently observed that strong initiatives in support of staff development activity by building principals at the junior and senior high school levels were typically less potent than at the elementary level. However, not a single instance was observed in which widespread participation in a staff development activity occurred at the building level without the support of the principal. Thus, the absence of principal support may preclude the implementation of systematic staff development programs, but the commitment of the principal to this or that program did not seem to be sufficient to guarantee its implementation. For example, in one case, a principal had been present (and supportive) when a system-wide change effort was initiated in a school and that school came to be identified as unusually successful in implementing the desired change. He was later transferred to another school that was also a target for the same change effort. However, in the second school, the initiative never got beyond the exploration stage, and over time, the principal's commitment to the change began to erode.

Situations such as these suggest that there is much more involved in introducing change through systematic staff development than having supportive principals or principals with some preferred leadership

style. It was also observed that there were several system level initiatives to which almost every faculty responded uniformly. In one instance, at least, there was convincing evidence that the change the system-wide staff development program was intended to bring about had occurred, at least at a minimal level in every school. Observations such as these lead to the conclusion that while building level context variables are critical determinants of the ways faculties will respond to various staff development efforts, the way the building level unit is embedded in the larger context of the school system is also important. For example, Joslin (1982) attributed different levels of success in implementing one staff development program in part to the way various school faculties perceived their relationship to the status system of the larger school system and to the aspirations the faculty had for job mobility outside the building level unit.

Thus, one proposition that was consistently supported was that the relative success and effectiveness of alternative forms of staff development are at least in part determined by a variety of contextual conditions. Four such conditions were identified as particularly important. First and probably most important is the extent to which the patterns of power, authority and status that are used to give direction and control to the staff development activity are congruent with the patterns of power, authority and status that serve to give direction and control to the particular work setting toward which the staff development activity is oriented. It may be that one of the reasons the building level unit has been shown to be so critical in explaining the effects and effectiveness of alternative forms of staff development is that, in most school systems, building level units are only loosely

linked to the larger system of power and authority. This being the case, staff development that is not congruent with the facts and perceptions of building level autonomy are unlikely to have the effects intended. On the other hand, in the school system studied here, numerous school buildings were observed that were more fully integrated into system level power, authority and status structures, and these building level units seemed to respond quite differently and more positively to outside initiatives intended to produce change. Our contention here is that staff developers must be aware of and consider the way in which individual buildings are autonomous from or dependent upon district-centered power, authority and status.

A second contextual condition has to do with evaluation. Regardless of the source of initiation, the closer the link between the exercise of evaluative authority, especially the authority to evaluate programs, and the staff development activity, the more likely the staff development program is to maintain a coherent direction and to systematically pursue the ends for which it was designed. Conversely, staff development activity that is not closely linked to program evaluation is likely to lose focus and direction and the resources committed to that activity are likely to be diverted to support a variety of ends in addition to and frequently in competition with the ends toward which the program is designed.

A third conclusion regarding the impact of context on the effects and effectiveness of staff development activity is that the means by which the content and intentions of the staff development are delivered to or within the work setting must be congruent with the structure of that work setting. Put differently, the "fit" between organizational

structure and the means of delivering staff development to faculties goes far in determining the effects and effectiveness a staff development program will display.

Finally, given the sensitivity of staff development to the characteristic patterns by which power, authority and status are distributed in school systems and given the difficult management task associated with reconciling these patterns with the requirements of systematic approaches to staff development, it was concluded that the tendency is for systems to center staff development attention and resources on those forms of staff development that are least affected by these contextual conditions. More specifically, given the difficulties associated with coordinating prevailing patterns of power, authority, status and evaluation with the expectations embedded in change oriented staff development, the tendency is to concentrate attention on individuals rather that on systems and to give value to activity that promises to change persons without regard to whether or not the activity demonstrably changes programs or the effects of these programs.

The remainder of the present chapter will present a more detailed discussion of these observations and provide the reader with examples of the evidence upon which these conclusions are based.

Structural Integration

The school system in which this study was conducted had 104 schools. Of these, ten were high schools, twenty-one were junior high schools and the remainder were elementary schools. Some of the elementary schools were K-6, some K-3 and some 4-6. The school system also had alternative types of schools (e.g., open schools and traditional schools). Over-arching these 104 building level units was an

administrative structure divided into eight areas, each with its own area superintendent, These areas roughly paralleled school attendance districts. (They were sometimes referred to as feeder areas.) However, due to court ordered busing, the areas were not geographically contiguous. Furthermore, the fact that the system had been declared by court order a unified school system placed considerable restraint on the amount of autonomy enjoyed in each area. For example, budgets were generally centralized and personnel employment was centralized as well. Furthermore, the fiscal resources available to support staff development programs were also centralized and most of these resources were located in offices under the direction and supervision of the Associate Superintendent for Program Services (Figure I presents a diagram of the formal structure of the school system). Practically speaking, therefore, the system in which this study was conducted was highly centralized with authority flowing from the Superintendent to the Deputy Superintendent through the area superintendents to the local building units. In local parlance this was referred to as "the line structure." As will be noted in Figure I, the office of Associate Superintendent for Program Services, where staff development is located, is off to the side and separated from the line structure. Thus, symbolically and in fact, those "in the line" who controlled the fiscal resources for supporting staff development programs and activities were administratively separated from those persons and offices who controlled the programs staff development activity was intended to affect.

There was, in addition, one further compounding fact. As was indicated in the introduction, almost every building had assigned to it one person, the coordinating teacher, who had responsibility for

ORGANIZATIONAL CHART Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools 1980-81

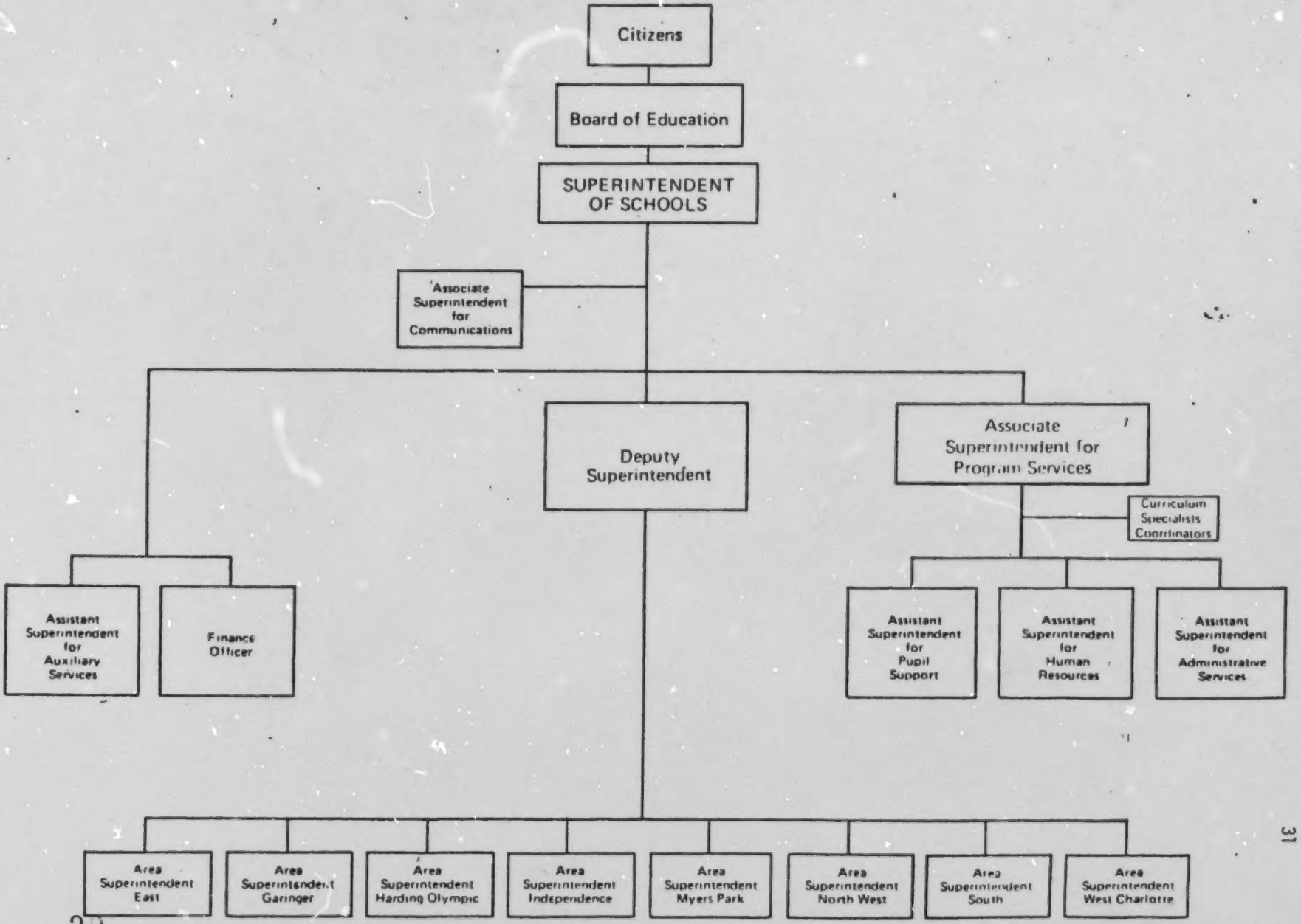

FIGURE 1

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program development and staff development at the local building level. However, these persons were accountable exclusively to line personnel (i.e., building principals). Officially, at least, these building level specialists could only make requests for fiscal or technical support from the central office "through the line." Thus, those in control of the fiscal resources to support staff development and many of those who were by reputation technically most proficient in program development and staff development (e.g., subject matter specialists) were separated not only from the line but from their counterparts (i.e., the coordinating teacher) at the building level.

These conditions had a variety of effects on the way staff development programs were designed and delivered both to building level units and to individuals. Furthermore, the nature of these effects was such that they served to demonstrate quite clearly what is meant by the term "structural integration" and to illustrate how structural integration or lack of it affects the operation of staff development programs.

Given the way fiscal resources supporting staff development were controlled (i.e., central control) and given the fact that most of the curriculum specialists were located in the central office (the coordinating teachers were generalists), it is clear that for building level units to gain access to these fiscal and technical resources, it was necessary for these units to be somehow integrated into the existing central system of power and authority. Furthermore, gaining access to these resources implied, for some at least, embracing centralization (as opposed to school autonomy) as a preferred mode of operation. The consequence was that in most instances those building level units in which the local administrator and/or the faculty placed the highest

priority on autonomous action were also those building level units in which systematic approaches to staff development were least likely to emerge. Conversely, those building level units in which the boundaries between the building and the system were less clearly defined seemed more likely to: (a) develop locally initiated staff development programs and (b) participate (individually and collectively) in staff development programs sponsored and initiated at the central office level.

A similar observation was made, at least in early stages of this research project, with regard to area level staff development activity. Specifically there were some area superintendents who clearly perceived that their role should be that of a chief executive officer of an intermediate school district. These persons were quite vocal about their dissatisfaction with lack of area control of the staff development budget. They also were often generally less assertive in their pursuit of centrally controlled staff development system and its human and financial resources. As one put it, "I don't like to be a supplicant every time I want to run a workshop in my area." On the other hand, there were area superintendents who viewed their role as middle level managers running "departments" in a large organization. These persons seemed most active in pursuing centrally controlled staff development resources and in encouraging those below them to "take advantage of" programs, activities and workshops sponsored by the central system. In sum, area superintendents who perceived centralization as an organizational fact were generally more likely to avail themselves of resources and opportunities provided by the central system than were those who saw subunit autonomy as the central fact of organizational life.

It is also interesting that those area superintendents, building principals and coordinating teachers who had in their prior work experience occupied positions in the central administrative structure also seemed to be most aggressive in pursuing resources to support staff development activity in their school buildings and areas. They were also the most aggressive in pursuing opportunities for teachers from their areas or schools to participate in centrally sponsored staff development activity. For example, in her study of the differential responses of two junior high school faculties to a system level initiated staff development program intended to improve reading instruction in the junior high schools, Joslin (1982) made several observations regarding a successful school (i.e., a school in which the innovation was systematically implemented) and a non-successful school. First, the non-successful school was part of a county system that had been consolidated with the city system. Though this consolidation had occurred 20 years prior to the present study, the faculty continued to view themselves as separate from the larger school system, sometimes referring to themselves as a "school district within a school district." Conversely, the successful school was built subsequent to consolidation and was intentionally located in such a way as to symbolize that it was a part of both systems and thus to symbolize system integration (i.e., it was located on the boundary line between the old city and county systems).

Second, both administrative staff and teachers from the successful school routinely sought promotion opportunties in the larger school system, whereas this pattern was not present in the less successful school. Joslin argues that this condition encouraged the faculty in the successful school to be positively oriented toward system level

initiatives precisely because participation in system-wide activity provided opportunities for visibility and thus created the chances of status enhancement. There was other evidence that the successful school was more fully integrated into the larger system than was the less successful school. For example, the unsuccessful school's faculty spent considerable time and energy in responding to a system-wide mandate to change the design of the curriculum in order to better serve low achieving students. The non-successful school's attitude toward this change was substantially different. As one respondent put the matter,

> When the new junior high curriculum was mandated by the Superintendent, this faculty got busy, and our first intention was to design a curriculum that would hold as many of our people as possible. For example, science teachers knew that if they didn't develop electives students would sign up for, we would lose some science teachers. History was the same way. This was the concept under which we operated.

Clearly, this school's chief mission was not responsiveness but rather it was maintenance of present arrangements. The point here is that those school building and intermediate units that were most fully integrated into the prevailing patterns of power, authority and status were also most responsive to initiatives offered within this structure. Thus, it appears that it is possible that one of the reasons that so few centrally initiated staff development programs and change efforts are effective on a widespread basis is that the traditional forms of school organization mitigate against the building level unit being fully integrated into the school system. Indeed, this is precisely what is meant by the concept of "loose linkage," which is often used to characterize a school system.

There are, in addition, other data that provide warrant for the conclusion suggested above. First, in spite of the fact that almost every school building had an individual who was officially charged with responsibility for developing building level program development and staff development activities, there was amazingly little of this activity that occurred outside the context of the centralized staff development system. Most of the building level activity that did take place occurred in direct response to central office initiatives and the units that were most responsive tended to be disproprotionately drawn from the units that were most clearly integrated into the larger system.

Second, almost all of those long term and systematic building level initiatives that occurred in the less structurally integrated school buildings resulted from local inventions and local initiatives as various studies (e.g., RAND, 1975) would lead one to expect. For example, the building unit that Joslin found to be unsuccessful in its response to a centrally initiated effort to improve reading instruction and which was also found to be resistent to a centrally initiated mandate for curriculum change had, in fact, developed and implemented a fundamentally restructured approach to mathematics instruction and had coordinated this development with the high school to which it served as a feeder school. The critical difference between this latter effort and the other two efforts seems to have been that the way power and authority were assigned for the development of the latter program was congruent with the way the building was embedded in the larger authority structure of the school system, whereas the power and authority related to the less successful efforts were not so congruent. To explain further, the

power and authority for the development of the successful program derived from within the school and thus were congruent with the fact that this school was relatively autonomous within the school system. For the unsuccessful efforts, power and authority were based outside the school (i.e., at the central office level) and were, therefore, inconsistent with the autonomous nature of the school.

Third, while it is the case that there was wide variation in the degree to which various elementary school faculties participated in or initiated staff development activity and some variation in the degree to which junior high school faculties participated in or initiated staff development programs, there was little variation in the degree to which high school faculties participated in or initiated staff development activity. The fact is that most of the staff development activity observed in this school system involved elementary teachers and elementary school faculties. Some of the activity involved junior high teachers and junior high faculties. It was only on limited and highly unusual occasions that it was observed that high school faculties engaged in any sort of staff development beyond graduate study leading to advanced degrees. There are, of course, numerous possible explanations for this fact. For example, much of the centrally sponsored staff development activity, including the activity of the Teaching Learning Center, was oriented more to elementary teachers than to high school teachers. Thus, availability might have been a factor. Second, high school teachers in this system, as in most other systems, tended to be somewhat older, more male and more well educated (i.e., had more degrees) than were elementary teachers. Any or all of these conditions might mitigate against the development

of strong incentives for participation in staff development. Finally, there are many more forces (e.g., departmentalization and specialization) in the organization of high schools to encourage segmentation and lack of unified direction than are present in elementary schools.

Putting these important matters aside for a moment, however, it also seems reasonable to hypothesize one other reason elementary teachers more regularly participate in long-term and systematic staff development efforts than do secondary teachers: the elementary teachers' perception of the authority base from which staff development typically proceeds is much more congruent with the reality in schools than is secondary teachers' perceptions of that authority base. Specifically, most of the staff development activity observed in the course of this study centered attention on generic principles of teaching and learning, diagnosis and prescription, growth and development. The assumption seemed to be that there was something generic about the teaching act and that it was possible to transmit the generic principles to others. The authority of staff development, at least in the system studied here, was based on the assumption that process and technique were important. Secondary teachers seemed less convinced that this is so. For many secondary teachers, <u>what</u> is to be taught seems more important than <u>how</u> it is to be taught and activities that emphasize how over what tended to be disparaged by secondary teachers. Secondary teachers tended to view how-to-workshops as "mickey mouse, fun and games and gimmicks," whereas elementary teachers were generally more flattering in their comments abount such workshops and activities. Indeed, it may be more than coincidence that it was found that those junior high schools in

which the administrative leadership and/or the faculty came from elementary school backgrounds were generally more likely to initiate or be involved in systematic staff development efforts than were junior high faculties more oriented toward secondary schools. Again, structural integration seems to be an important explanatory variable but here the form of structural integration referred to is the structure of knowledge about teaching and learning upon which staff development is based (see Joslin, 1982).

The Primacy of Evaluative Authority

In their book, Evaluation and the Exercise of Authority, Dornbusch and Scott (1975) argue that evaluations that count (i.e., make a difference in performance) must be based on creditable observations (e.g., the performance being evaluated must be seen and must be seen to have been seen) and somehow linked to meaningful rewards. Most important, evaluations that count must be taken into account by those who are seen to be in a position to distribute rewards and inflict punishments. One of the most critical factors that determines the likelihood that a staff development program will maintain a systematic direction (i.e., a direction logically designed to produce the intended results) has to do with the extent to which the expectations of the staff development program comes to be embedded in and reflected by the systems of evaluation employed by those with evaluative authority. In the two years and more that the researchers were collecting data for this project, there were numerous opportunities to observe a variety of system level initiatives intended to produce system-wide effects. For all the reasons suggested in the preceding section, there was wide variability in the effects and effectiveness these initiatives had on building level faculties to say nothing of the variability that existed within faculties.

Basically, it was generally observed that almost any form of staff development activity (e.g., one-day workshops and long-term systematic efforts) had an impact that someone someplace viewed as desirable. There was certainly no evidence found that any form of staff development did any particular harm. However, it was also difficult to locate or develop convincing or persuasive evidence that staff development programs had systematic effects on participants. Furthermore, evidence that these programs had salutarious effects on children was virtually non-existent.[1]

Using another criterion for effectiveness, however, there was occasion to observe several different forms of staff development activity that seemed to be linked to the effective implementation of various programs. (Here the term effective means nothing more or less than that participants made a sustained though perhaps ritualistic effort to do the things the staff development program was intended to encourage them to do). The important point here is that the only thing these programs seemed to have in common was that the intentions of these programs somehow came to be embeded in the evaluative structure of the school. For example, in the study reported by Joslin (1982), it was found that one of the fundamental differences between the school in which the staff program seemed to have the desired effect and the one in which it did not was that the building principal in the successful school (and building

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[1]This is not to say that the staff development programs observed were ineffective. Rather, it is to say that this school system, reflecting the state of the art (e.g., Griffin, 1983), simply could not make available convincing and persuasive evidence of the effects and effectiveness of the programs sponsored. Claims of effectiveness were primarily based on evidence of consumer satisfaction and on very dubious linkages between this or that program and improved test scores.

level faculty as well took the expectations of the program into account in evaluative discussions that occurred at the building level. These discussions did not occur in the less successful school.

The only staff development program that clearly had a systematic effect at the high school level proceeded from a system-wide mandate to improve writing instruction and the insistence of a central office functionary that this mandate provided a basis for evaluating programs of instruction. Furthermore, these evaluations (i.e., the evaluation of writing instruction in secondary schools) were used as a basis for generating a need for staff development programs centered on writing.

Perhaps the clearest illustration of what is intended here is contained in the staff development activity surrounding the introduction of a reading management system in the elementary schools. The introduction of this reading management system proceeded from a school board mandate that such a system be installed. This mandate was supported by routine evaluations (some called these inspections) to ensure that the system was being implemented and properly used. The level at which these evaluations occurred went up to and through the Deputy Superintendent of the school system. For example, on school site visits intended to provide "dry runs" for regional accreditation, the Deputy Superintendent routinely inquired into the degree to which the reading management system was being used. Even more routinely, he assigned the central office reading specialist the task of conducting such "inspections." The result was that the central office reading specialist as well as other elements of the staff development system (e.g., building level coordinating teachers, the Teaching Learning Center staff and other inservice specialists) were routinely called on to conduct workshops to facilitate

the implementation of the reading management system and to provide a variety of consultative activities oriented toward the same end.

The interesting, though not surprising, result was that the formally designed workshops intended to support the introduction of this innovation (i.e., those workshops that were centrally initiated and those activities offered during the summer) were less positively regarded than were the more ad hoc responses presented by the Teaching Learning Center and/or building level coordinating teachers. Thus, it appears likely that change was systematically introduced precisely because it was linked to the system of evaluation. However, the question of which form of staff development (i.e., centrally supported or school based) was most supportive of implementation of this change is open to question. If consumer satisfaction is an indicator, those forms of staff development that were most systematic were least well regarded. On the other hand, the presence of the systematic programs coupled with the prominence the expectations of this program had in the evaluative structure clearly gave focus and direction to a variety of highly individualized responses to the problems the change created for teachers and administrators.

Clearly, embedding the expectations of a staff development program in the evaluative structure of the school or school district does not guarantee that a staff development program will be effective. For example, we are convinced that many persons complied with the expectations of the reading management system only on a ritualistic level. Indeed, interview data indicate that many teachers were philosophically opposed to the assumptions underlying the reading management system and would quickly abandon its use given the option of doing so. On the other hand,

the fact that the expectations of the reading management system (and other demonstrably implemented staff development programs as well) were embedded in the evaluative structure served to focus attention on specific staff development needs and to make it possible to have a widespread response of a variety of forms of staff development to a single problem. Even if it could be demonstrated that the particular innovation supported by the evaluative structure was without merit (i.e., that it failed to produce intended effects upon students), the fact remains that on the issue of implementation, connection with evaluation gives credence to programs and related staff development activities.

Unfortunately, given the way staff development was typically embedded in the system studied here and probably many other systems as well, it is difficult, sometimes impossible, to find such linkages. If staff developers hope to implement programs that count, they must seek ways to assure that measurement of effects of these programs are part of the system of accounting employed by the school (i.e., the evaluation system).

Social Structure and Technology

As the term structure is used here, it means nothing more or less than those relatively permanent and predictable patterns of social relationships that exist between and among persons in social situations. In complex social organizations (e.g., schools),some of the most salient aspects of structure are defined by the positions people occupy and the expectations regarding the performances and obligations of persons in those positions. Technology, as the term is used here, refers to the

means of doing a job whatever the means (e.g., processes) and whatever the job might be (Dreeben, 1970).[2]

In recent years, sociologists have advanced a number of interesting theories regarding the way social structure and technology interact (e.g., Woodward, 1965; Perrow, 1970). Though the nature of these theoretical arguments will not be elaborated here, the reader should be aware that the analysis presented here proceeds primarily on the basis of assumptions drawn from the literature on structure and technology. Furthermore, the reader should understand that one of the fundamental tenets of this body of literature is that the effectiveness of organizations is in large part determined by the degree to which the social structure of the organization is congruent with the technology the organization employs in the pursuit of its goals.

In the conduct of the present study and particularly as a result of the work by Joslin (1982), three components of staff development technology were identified. The first of these components was labeled recruitment and has to do with the means by which persons are attracted to and/or induced to participate in staff development activity. For example, some programs rely primarily on volunteerism to attract participants and the perceptions of participants that there is something inherently worthwhile to be gained by participation. Other programs

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[2]The term technology is used in preference to other choices (e.g., means, processes, methods) primarily because the literature that informs this analysis uses the term technology. The primary quest of this literature and body of explanation is to describe and explain how social structure and technology interact (e.g., Perrow, 1970). Since this analysis was informed by the structure-technology literature, it seemed appropriate to use terminology that is consistent with that literature.

recruit members through compulsion or through the use of monetary incentives. Thus, the means used to recruit participants varies widely from program to program and there is variance within programs as well.

A second technological component identified by Joslin was the knowledge transmission technology where the concern is with the means by which the content of the program is transmitted. Again, staff development programs and activities vary widely. For example, some programs rely almost exclusively on the use of outside experts and written materials, whereas other programs and activities do not use outsiders and written materials as a means of transmitting knowledge. Some programs and activities make extensive use of modeling, demonstration and intensive corrective feedback, whereas other programs rarely use such means.

A final technological element identified by Joslin was the norm enforcement technology. Norm enforcement includes components of the evaluative system but it also includes other elements. Some programs rely almost exclusively on self-enforcement as a mechanism of insuring compliance with the expectations of the program. For example, numerous programs were observed in which individuals were given extensive instruction in some instructional technique or procedure though there was no effort made to determine whether these techniques were employed in the classroom. Other programs (e.g., the reading management program described above) routinely made provisions for observing performances and providing corrective feedback. Other differences in the norm enforcement structure had to do with the locus of the enforcement mechanisms. In some instances, whatever official effort was made to uphold the expectations of the program was solely the responsibility of

a designated instructor or an administrative official. In other instances (these were less frequently observed), the performance expectations of the program were upheld by a diffuse range of people including program participants themselves (see Joslin, 1982).

Using these concepts and the theoretical leads suggested by the literature on social structure and technology, it has been concluded that the data collected in this project support the assertion that the lack of fit between the means used to deliver staff development programs and the prevailing social structure of the relevant work setting decreases the extent to which the staff development program will have systematic (i.e., relatively uniform and widespread) effects on the intended audience. Conversely, the more congruent the staff development technology is with the prevailing social structure of the relevant work setting, the more likely the program is to have systematic effects. For example, in her study of contrasting responses to a system level initiative to improve reading instruction in the junior high schools, Joslin (1982) observed that the assumptions underlying the staff development technology employed required a pattern of relationships at the building level that fostered, among other things, (a) collegial approaches to problem-solving, (b) easy access to and visibility of the classroom performances of other teachers, and (c) a perception that participation in the program was sufficiently rewarding to encourage volunteerism.

For a variety of reasons, the structure of the school in which the staff development program was most effective was consistent with the assumptions of the staff development technology, whereas the structure of the less successful school was not consistent. For example, in the successful school, there was a long history of interdepartmental

cooperation, peer observation, and shared decision-making. In the less successful school, building level and classroom level autonomy (non-interdependence)was a highly prized value. Thus, the structure of relationships in the less successful school was simply not supportive of the means used to deliver the staff development program. The result was that the change which the staff development program was intended to introduce was not implemented in one school, but it was implemented in the other.

There is more here, however. At this point, the reader might conclude that one school rejected the innovation, whereas the other enbraced it. This is not quite so. Indeed, as of the date at which this report is being written, there is evidence that the school Joslin found to have been unsuccessful in implementing the innovation is now becoming active in implementing the innovation which had apparently been rejected. The evidence suggests that the primary difference between the present circumstance and that observed by Joslin is that the technology presently being used to introduce the innovation is fundamentally different from the technology initially used. For example, in the initial effort to implement the program, extensive use was made of system level personnel in the role of consultants. In addition, some building level personnel were designated as trainers and thus set apart from their colleagues in special ways. As Joslin observed, these patterns were relatively consistent with routines already established in the initially successful school, but they were inconsistent with those in the non-successful school. In its present version, leadership in the staff development activity fundamentally emanates from within the local building and no teachers are given special status as an inducement to

exert "leadership." Thus, it may be that the reason the innovation was initially rejected was that the staff development means employed were incongruent with the social structure of the school.

This research project has also produced other data that are consistent with this line of analysis and reasoning. For example, it was routinely observed that those school faculties that had a history of cooperative decision-making or that had engaged in long-term sustained planning were generally able to respond to staff development programs that required the presence of a "team" more effectively and efficiently than could faculties without such a history. Similarly, as one would expect, it was observed that follow-up visits to classrooms by staff development instructors were more likely to meet with resistance in schools where classroom level autonomy and non-interdependence were highly prized. This pattern seemed to hold regardless of the level of the school. For example, there were a number of elementary schools that enjoyed reputations of being (a) well regarded by parents and (b) almost totally lacking in any involvement in or commitment to systematic staff development. Interviews with coordinating teachers from these schools indicated, however, that there was considerable staff development occurring, but primarily the staff development took the form of individual consultative efforts initiated by the building level coordinating teacher. Indeed, the presence of outsiders in these buildings, including members of the research team, was perceived to cause major disruptions or was treated as a "special event."

The point here is that decisions regarding how knowledge should be transmitted are not only decisions regarding the processes of delivery. Such decisions must also take into account the conditions of the

reception system (i.e., the conditions of the workplace). If the boundaries of the workplace are clearly drawn and rigidly maintained, for example, staff development activity that requires substantial boundary spanning is likely to be resisted. Systems that are run from the top probably must be entered from the top. The patterned regularities of the workplace (Sarason, 1971) seem to determine how participants will respond to the means used to introduce change as well as to the innovation itself.

The Primacy of the Individual

As the reader may have now surmised, most of the long-term and systematic staff development activity that occurred in the school system studied emanated from the central administration and required the cooperative action of persons functioning under the office of the Associate Superintendent for Program Services. However, those persons under the supervision of the Associate Superintendent for Program Services essentially had control of only two of the elements that seemed to be required to provide direction and coordination to staff development activity. First, they had fiscal control. Second, they had a relative monopoly on perceived expertise in the area of curriculum evaluation and workshop design and especially in special curriculum areas (e.g., math, science, etc.). One serious deficiency, however, was that these persons did not have any authority in the area of personnel assignment or personnel evaluation. Even program evaluation was precluded to them except on invitation from the line. The result was that staff development that brought together expertise in curriculum evaluation and the design of training activities with control over fiscal resources and evaluative authority was difficult to manage. The building principal

or local school faculty that wished to access experts and financial resources needed to be very knowledgeable regarding ways the system could be negotiated. (This is probably one of the reasons that those principals, area superintendents, and coordinating teachers with prior central office experience frequently appeared to be more successful in securing resources for building activity.) Similarly, central office personnel who controlled the fiscal and technical resources needed to support systematic staff development among school faculties needed to be aware of a variety of subtle nuances and political strategies that made it possible to effectively co-opt line authority, especially in the area of program evaluation. Indeed, as discussed earlier, without such authority, the likelihood of sustaining a systematic staff development program is seriously compromised. It is, perhaps, something more than a coincidence that two of the more systematic efforts to conduct staff development from a system level (one in writing and one in reading) were headed by central office persons who persistently referred to specific school board mandates and goals calling for the introduction of a reading management system and improvement in writing. Furthermore, both of these persons used the specific mandates and goals as a basis for legitimizing program evaluation activity, and subsequently, they used the evaluations they conducted as a basis for inspiring or encouraging staff development in the areas about which they were concerned. In short, in order to be effective, it was essential for central office personnel to co-opt line authority which they themselves did not possess.

Given these conditions, it should not be surprising that much of the activity that occurred in this school system centered on individuals rather than on comprehensive programs and that nearly all of the activity

reinforced the notion that staff development was separate from, not integrated into, the work setting.

The point here is that the separation of fiscal authority from evaluative authority from expert authority created major coordination problems which could only be effectively addressed in those serendipitous circumstances where history and the accidents of individual experiences and relationships led persons and school buildings to be integrated into the larger structure of the school system. Since such accidents occur on a non-systematic basis, the structure of the system virtually precluded widespread systematic approaches to staff development throughout the school system. Simultaneously, the centralization of fiscal resources and expertise discouraged the systematic development of building initiatives, especially in those buildings and areas where subunit autonomy was a primary value.

Another related point that needs to be made is that those who had fiscal control and expert knowledge tended to attempt only those kinds of things that the system tolerated and did not see as disruptive. For example, a program described by Whitford (1981) was designed as if it were intended to have systematic effects on 21 junior high schools, and the logic of the design was clearly oriented toward long-term systematic change in instructional programs. However, there was no clear-cut system mandate to bring about such a change though there was not particular objection to it. The result was that any evidence of administrative dissatifaction or participant criticism of the change effort was taken as a critical event requiring corrective action (i.e., change in the program). The consequence was that this program, like many others, tended to experience constant variation in direction and thus came to have a

reputation of being "poorly coordinated." Indeed, almost all centrally sponsored staff development programs that required, by nature of their scope, coordinated action among units, eventually developed such reputations. Such consequences certainly encouraged staff developers to shy away from systematic change efforts and conduct those forms of staff development that required the least complex management responses. The simplest forms of staff development to manage are those that are relatively short-term, focused on individual skills or attitudes and that have relatively clear-cut and short-term payoffs for teachers.

Furthermore, the evaluations that count in such programs are evaluations given by participants themselves. "If they don't like it, it is bad." Thus, it should not be surprising that in this school system, as in many others, most of the staff development that occurred was relatively short-term and the evaluations that counted had more to do with consumer satisfication than with demonstrated performance in the classroom. Perhaps it is because school systems fail to recognize the need for unifying fiscal authority, authority for program evaluation and expert authority that so much staff development appears to be piecemeal.

Even given the above comments, the reader should not infer that the quality of the individually oriented workshops was necessarily poor. Some were poor; some were excellent. Similarly, the reader should not infer that these activities had no systematic effects on the classroom, for they may or may not have had such effects. The point is that the way staff development was related to the structure of this school system made it difficult to create staff development programs that were logically designed to produce systematic effects. When such programs were designed, it was difficult for those responsible for them to

maintain direction and control precisely because the needed authority bases were segmented rather than unified. Finally, because evaluative authority is such a critical component of the staff development structure and because those with the expertise and fiscal resources to support staff development were not in a position to exercise evaluative authority, there was generally no way to know whether the actions taken were having the intended effects. Thus, those who were responsible for initiating staff development activity were often faced with proceeding on the basis of informed intuition and evidence of consumer satisfaction.

Chapter Three

Functions of Staff Development and the Incentives and Rewards for Participation

What staff development programs do, what they are intended to do and the reason persons participate are shaped by the organizational context in which they occur. In the preceding chapter, the intent was to indicate some of the ways this context varies and the kinds of effects this variance seems to have. In this chapter, the purpose is to give more detailed attention to the functions staff development serves in schools and the sources of motivation for participation in these activities.

The Functions of Staff Development

Broadly speaking, staff development serves two basic functions. The first of these functions and the one most frequently acknowledged in the literature and commented on by practitioners has to do with change and improvement. The second of these functions is seldom acknowledged in the literature and seldom commented on by practitioners, yet it is critical and important to school systems. This function is referred to here as maintenance and includes both staff and system maintenance.

Reviews of the literature and our research experiences indicate that few practitioners and few staff developers acknowledge the maintenance function, and many find the idea of maintenance ideologically repungnant. Ideology aside, it remains the case that much staff development is designed to "keep things from getting worse" and that

is maintenance. Many workshops are run in schools simply as refresher courses intended to remind people of what it is assumed they already knew but may have forgotten. This is staff maintenance. Convention suggests that it is staff development.

Similarly, schools frequently use substantial portions of preschool inservice days to orient new faculty to existing procedures, to introduce new faculty to experienced faculty and to engage in a variety of useful and not so useful, inspirational and not inspirational, rituals intended to inspire faculty solidarity and to encourage a feeling that one be-belongs. This is typically called staff development, but its purpose is usually system maintenance. Thus, staff development in schools includes organized training and consultative efforts to produce change or improvement and organized training and consultative efforts intended to prevent the erosion of the present level of operation in the system or the erosion of the level of skills possessed by individuals.

Two Types of Change

Reviews of the literature on change and staff development as well as empirical observations conducted during this study have led to the conclusion that staff development is basically associated with two types of change. The first will be referred to as technological change, the second as structural change.

As was mentioned earlier, the term technology as used here, means nothing more or less than "the means of getting the job done" whatever the means and whatever the job happen to be. Hence, "one should not equate technology with hardware, nor exclude hardware from the definition of technology, for the latter is a very general concept" (Dreeben, 1970). Furthermore, as used here the definition of technology will be limited to

1) instructional processes or programs where the concern is presenting curricular materials, developing classroom activities, engaging students in instructional activities and establishing favorable sentiments among students toward these activities, and 2) the means by which teachers and schools maintain order, manage the assemblage of pupils and create a climate conducive to learning. Thus, when staff development is oriented in a way that is intended to alter or improve the way instruction is delivered, programs are designed and students are managed and motivated, staff development is oriented toward technological change or improvement.

When the intent is to alter the ways roles are defined, power and authority are allocated, social relationships are carried out and responsibilities are assigned, structural change is involved. For example, during the time that the present research project was being conducted, the school system created a new role called coordinating teacher. The purpose of this role was to provide direct assistance to teachers at the classroom level and to facilitate the development and coordination of staff development activity at the building level. The introduction of this new role in schools had a significant impact on a variety of relationships in the school (e.g., the relationship between the assistant principal and the principal, the relationship between central office supervisors and classroom teachers). This was a structural change. On the other hand, during the same period of time, a systematic effort was made to install a reading management system in the schools. This effort was supported by a wide range of inservice activity. For example, there were short-term and long-term workshops, individual consultations, voluntary workshops offered by the Teaching

Learning Center staff and other voluntary workshops as well. As the term is used here, the change intended by the reading program was a technological change.

One should not assume, however, that what is being described here is an either/or situation, for technological change frequently requires structural change and structural change almost invariably must be supported by changes in technology. Indeed, it is the failure to recognize that structural change and technological change are intertwined (see Perrow, 1970) that frequently compromises the effectiveness of both forms of change. For example, one of the most frequently expressed concerns of the coordinating teachers was that the role they occupied called upon them to assist teachers in diagnosing classroom environments and classroom instructional problems. However, they were never given specific instruction in the means of carrying out this task. Consequently, many avoided engaging in the task because they felt inadequate to do so. Fortunately or unfortunately, the role description also included a specific prohibition against coordinating teachers being involved in personnel evaluation. This prohibition served many CT's well as a formal reason for not working more closely with teachers in the diagnosis of classroom environments and instructional problems, even though it was clearly intended that they do such work.

The critical point here is to understand that staff development can be used to initiate and to support either structural change or technological change and it can be used to support both forms of change simultaneously.

Two Types of Maintenance

With regard to maintenance, staff development resources can be oriented in at least two ways. First, staff development resources can be used to maintain staff motivation and commitment. Second, staff development resources and programs can be used to maintain existing processes and procedures. (This includes skills and knowledge.) For example, morale maintenance was as frequently the purpose of workshops as was the development of new understandings. Indeed, some of the most highly lauded consultants were those consultants who presented their message in evangelical style. After one such presentation, several informants independently commented on the presence of an evangelical style. One summed up the sentiment by saying, "I don't know that I'll do anything different, but he does make you feel good and at least he's not boring."

In a world where criticism and problems dominate one's attention and where the hum-drum of routine sometimes overwhelms sensibilities, such inspirational speakers may serve a necessary maintenance function. If nothing else, they may inspire some teachers and administrators to do as well tomorrow as they did today even if they do not cause them to do better.

There are, of course, other ways in which staff development is used to maintain motivation. For example, it was routinely observed that building principals often recommended teachers to participate in what the principals perceived as high quality programs or at least attractive programs because the principals felt the teachers "needed a shot in the arm" or "were getting stale." Indeed, many teachers and administrators reported that their primary reason for participating in staff development

was to overcome boredom. Very frequently, teachers reported that one of the most pleasant things they got from workshops was the opportunity to "share war stories" and find that their situation was no worse, and sometimes better, than that enjoyed by their colleagues. It is also the case that various administrators used or attempted to use staff development resources to reward teachers who had in the past or were presently going "above and beyond the call of duty." For example, preparation of regional accreditation reports was routinely encouraged by offers of renewal credit. One can argue that such reports are aimed toward improvement and change, but evidence that improvement and change resulted was not a prerequisite for getting credit. Credit was given as a means of maintaining motivation.

The way staff development serves to maintain processes and procedures is perhaps the easiest of all the forms of staff development activity to identify and document. For example, in the school system where this study was conducted, one of the most frequent assistance requests made by building level staff had to do with assistance in clarifying policy or illuminating a process. Sometimes these requests for assistance were directed to curriculum specialists at the central office level and sometimes to specialists at the intermediate level. Administrators especially requested this form of inservice. Furthermore, some administrators very much resented efforts to encroach upon their meeting time for purposes other than the clarification of policies and procedures. For example, in one summer workshop for system administrators, the principal investigator became involved in a conversation with six principals who were expressing concern that the workshop was not getting down to "brass tacks." When asked what they considered brass tacks, they pointed to

consideration of issues like staff allotment, student assignment and the meaning of an impending systemwide discipline policy. To these administrators, the system's effort to bring in speakers to address a variety of instructional issues was nothing more than a distraction from what their inservice should really have been about and what it really should have been about was procedures. On the other hand, numerous other administrators expressed great satisfaction that this workshop was not just a rehash of policies and procedures and were gratified with the substantive content they were receiving.

The point here is that there are numerous persons in positions of influence in schools who obviously believe that it is proper to use staff development resources to maintain processes and procedures. Thus, to assume that the only proper use of staff development resources is to produce change and improvement is to deny the reality of the workplace. The question is "How much and what type of maintenance is necessary and sufficient to make change possible and under what conditions does the use of staff development resources to satisfy maintenance needs actually inhibit change rather than support it?" Perhaps an even more fundamental question is."To what extent does a change effort actually increase the perceived need for maintenance to the point that the resources designed to support change are necessarily diverted to system maintenance simply to ensure that the system 'doesn't fall apart'?"

Summary

To summarize, in the school system studied, and probably in many other school systems as well, activities that are perceived to be staff development activities can and do serve two different sets of functions.

The first of these and the one about which the most is said and written is change. The second function served and the one about which the least is said and written is maintenance. Within the change function two forms have been identified (i.e., technological change and structural change). Within the maintenance function, two additional forms were identified. The first had to do with the maintenance of morale, motivation and commitment. The second had to do with the maintenance of procedures and processes.

Conceptualizing the functions of staff development in this way makes it possible for program designers and evaluators to ask a variety of questions that might otherwise be overlooked if one were to concentrate only on the manifest intentions of staff development. For example, program designers using this conceptual frame might well ask themselves: "To what extent can and should staff development resources be committed to maintenance functions?" "To what extent is the introduction of a change likely to increase maintenance needs and how might these maintenance needs be met without diverting resources necessary for supporting the change effort?" "What is the likelihood that the maintenance needs of the system will overwhelm the needs of the system to change, and under what conditions will resources committed to change be co-opted to support maintenance activity?" "What strategies might be developed to resist the co-optation of change oriented resources to support maintenance activity?" "When is it desirable to resist and when is it necessary to comply?""

For the evaluator, some of the same questions might be of interest. However, the evaluator might ask other questions as well. For example, the evaluator might be concerned with whether program designers were

sufficiently cognizant of the maintenance needs and/or change created by their program and whether they had created conscious strategies to deal with these needs. Similarly, the evaluator might be concerned with assessing the degree to which structural changes were introduced to support technological changes and vice versa (e.g., Herriott and Gross, 1979). In addition, this conceptual framework might encourage evaluators to systematically look beyond the rhetoric of program descriptions in order to understand the effects of programs and activities. It might also encourage evaluators to consider the possibility that there are times when what is done may appear to be logically unrelated to what is intended precisely because it is so deeply embedded in and consistent with the sociologic of the school system itself.

Finally, for both evaluators and staff developers, this conception of the functions of staff development might raise to a level of consciousness the possibility that one of the most important prerequisities to instituting healthy and progressive change in organizations has to do with taking actions to first assure that "things don't get worse."

Incentives and Rewards for Participation in Staff Development

Having discussed the potential functions of staff development for school systems, it now becomes necessary to turn attention to the potential reasons individuals participate in staff development. Broadly speaking, the concern here is with describing those things that attract, compel or encourage individuals to participate in the various forms of staff development offered by schools. Three broad categories of incentives and rewards were identified in this project. The first of these categories had to do with the desire (incentive) on the part of individuals to somehow improve their performance, their social position

or their career standing, and the perception that participation in some form of staff development might lead to the realization of this desire. This broad category was labeled enhancement. Enhancement included skill and knowledge enhancement, status enhancement and career enhancement.

Skill and knowledge enhancement is an obvious and straightforward category. People do attend staff development because they feel the content gained or the things experienced will improve their capacities to perform their jobs. Indeed, most of those interviewed in the present project who participated in staff development said that this was the primary reason they participated. However, they said many other things as well. For example, numerous respondents indicated that their reasons for participating in staff development, especially system level staff development, also had to do with the perception that the visibilty gained served to enhance the honor and prestige (i.e., status) they were afforded by administrators and, thus, increased their opportunities to gain access to other resources in the system. There was clearly a strong tendency for those who were most actively involved in staff development to also be invited to serve on system level and area level committees where they had an opportunity to become recognized as a "teacher leader" (status enhancement). It is also obvious that many persons participate in staff development, especially those forms of staff development leading to advanced degrees and certificates in order to enhance the possibility of promotions or new job assignments (career enhancement).

The second broad category of incentives and rewards identified had to do with the intrinsic and extrinsic rewards participants perceived

to be significant. Here Lortie's (1975) distinction between psychic, ancillary and monetary rewards was useful. First, it was found that many persons participated in staff development at the building level, intermediate level and system level primarily because they found the experiences personally satisfying. Numerous teachers, especially elementary teachers, regularly participated in credit-bearing workshops, but did not enroll for credit since they "did not need credit." Many of these persons indicated that their primary reward had to do with the self satisfaction they felt in keeping abreast of things.

One could argue that such inducements are simply a subset of those inducements associated with skill and knowledge enhancement. There is, however, more here. For example, many teachers who attended and were heavily involved in staff development for psychic reasons were as likely as others to be disparaging about the specific content or procedures employed in a staff development activity. However, if the program provided a forum in which teachers could discuss concerns and share ideas, they were likely to value the experience. For some of these persons, the official purposes for which an activity was designed were much less signficant than the officially unrecognized opportunities for collegial interchange which the situation provided. Indeed, persons who attended staff development for psychic reasons were more frequently negative about activities that were highly structured, concentrated on tasks and products and overlooked process, whereas other teachers found too much emphasis on process a source of dissatisfaction.

Among the ancillary incentives that seemed to induce people to attend to staff development, one of the more powerful had to do with "being in the know." Being "in the know" refers to the desire or need

to be, or appear to be, knowledgeable about action and activities that are occurring outside of one's immediate work milieu. Sometimes this knowledge has to do with policy change, sometimes with opportunities and sometimes with procedural alternatives (e.g., how other schools or faculties are confronting an issue). Being "in the know" was a particularly powerful inducement for participating in system level workshops and continuing education activity.

It is probably the case that the size of the school system and the existence of a central staff development facility (i.e., The Staff Development Center) contributed to this condition. It is probably also the case that spatial relationships in the school system contributed to this condition. For example, the school system had 104 separate school units. In spite of various efforts to create a flow of communication from teachers to the central office, the fact remained that in this system, like many other systems, the frequency of communication from the bottom up was much lower than the frequency of communication from the top down, at least through formal channels. Furthermore, between 1975 and 1980, the system had moved toward decentralization which resulted in the creation of area offices which housed area superintendents and support personnel attached to these offices. The most frequent flow of communication to building level units came through these offices.

Spatially, the central office, which was located in the heart of the city, was a four story building of relatively modern design. Many meetings were held in this building and teachers frequently attended these meetings. However, the odds of accidental encounters with other persons from other meetings or other school officials were greatly

reduced by the architecture of the building. This is a building of business offices with few convenient places to carry out casual conversations and with traffic flow which does not encourage accidental encounters.

On the other hand, the Staff Development Center is a refurbished elementary school building. On the first floor the flow of traffic is such that people typically bump into one another. In this building, which is frequented regularly by all levels of persons in the school system, at least from the area superintendent level on down, the opportunity for chance conversations across roles and administrative units is greatly enhanced and they frequently occur. Indeed, based on observations made over two years, it seems clear that one of the most vital functions served by the Staff Development Center was that it facilitated conversation across roles and between administrative units. It was not uncommon, for example, to observe an area superintendent from one area carrying on a conversation with a teacher from another area and with a principal from yet another area. Similarly, the bulletin boards and the display counters served as sources of information about what was going on in the system including staff development opportunities available. Thus, many persons found it advantageous to have some reason to go to the Staff Development Center for the Staff Development Center provided one of the few places where face to face conversation across roles and across administrative units was likely to occur on a spontaneous basis.

This was not, of course, an unmixed blessing, for persons who did not frequent the Staff Development Center often felt, or reported that they felt, that they were excluded from opportunities in the system

because they were not in "that network." During the first year in which this study was conducted, some area level personnel indicated that they felt their areas were being overlooked and not provided the opportunities provided other areas. The university researchers carefully attended to this issue. Most particularly, data indicating that there was an uneven flow of communication to different areas was explored as was the issue of whether central staff development personnel were more responsive to some areas than to others. There was virtually no evidence to support the assertion that there was an official or in any way conscious effort to distribute staff development resources unevenly among the areas. There was, however, considerable evidence that some areas did receive more resources and more support from the central office staff development system than did others. Furthermore, the most consistent correlation with this preferred treatment seemed to be the degree to which key area level personnel frequented the Staff Development Center and availed themselves of the opportunity to pick up the information that gave them "the edge."[1]

In addition to being "in the know," there were numerous other ancillary reasons for attending to staff development. For example, continuing involvement in intensive building level staff development seemed frequently to be motivated by the fact that it was through such

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[1]Since this first year, the perception of differential treatment seems to have substantially declined. In part, this decline may be due to conscious efforts on the part of centrally located staff development personnel to assure a more even flow of communication. Furthermore, over the 2-1/2 years data were being collected for this project, there was a marked increase in the frequency with which building level and area level personnel concerned with staff development (e.g., coordinating teachers) frequented the Staff Development Center.

involvement that one could most easily maintain a sense of collegiality with other faculty members. Furthermore, at the building level at least, participation in staff development activity seemed to provide, for some, an opportunity to influence policies and procedures. Teachers and administrators frequently used staff development activity sponsored by the central system as a forum to express views and concerns regarding existing policy and procedures. In one workshop for assistant principals which was aimed at developing skills in analyzing organizational environments, several participants made repeated efforts to communicate their dissatisfaction with present policies regarding the appointment of principals. This latter observation and numerous similar circumstances observed suggest the possibility that participation in a staff development activity where persons who are perceived to be influential in the system are present is as likely to be motivated by desire to influence the behavior of these influentials or to change school policy as by the desire to have one's own behavior changed or skills improved.

The significance of monetary rewards as an inducement to participate in staff development cannot and should not be dismissed. It is clear, at least in the school system studied, that the presence of monetary rewards greatly increased the degree to which individuals were willing to participate in staff development. For example, the school system introduced an Incentive Pay Program specifically intended to induce teachers to participate in continuing education activity. This program offered teachers a five hundred dollar per year bonus upon completion of a specified number of hours of training. The budget for this program during the first year (1979-80) was $25,000. By 1982, the budget was $500,000. Thus, nearly 25% of the professional work force positively

responded to economic incentives. Indeed, many administrators and teachers expressed concern that by establishing such a direct link between monetary rewards and staff development, the system was discouraging participation in any form of staff development that did not pay.

What is perhaps less obvious is that there are many forms of staff development sponsored by schools in which teachers will not participate unless they are paid or compelled to do so. Furthermore, there is a tendency for teachers and others to be more disparaging of the quality and relevance of those forms of staff development for which they are paid than for those forms of staff development for which they are not paid. In the present study, few interview respondents who possessed the master's degree reported that the courses taken in pursuit of the master's had done anything to increase their skills or ability to teach. A typical comment regarding the worth of the master's degree was, "The way things are now, you have to take eight courses that are irrelevant to get two that are worth anything. If you want to know what I got out of my master's degree, it was a raise." There are a variety of explanations for this condition. Some skeptics have suggested that the reason teachers and administrators disparage graduate programs is because these programs have more rigor than do other forms of staff development. "What they want, " one said, "is something that is simple, convenient and doesn't require them to read books or think."

Another possible explanation is that school systems only pay money to induce people to participate in forms of staff development that would otherwise be resisted. In effect, money may be used to encourage people to want what the system thinks they need.

There is probably some validity in both these explanations as well as other explanations one could generate along the same lines. However, another line of reasoning might be productive. Specifically, it is typically the case that school systems provide monetary rewards to people for participating in staff development in exchange for evidence that the person is willing to give more time for the school or to activities the school values. It is not suggested that this time-money equation is altogether conscious, but its effect may be real just the same. For example, it is conventional on university campuses to suggest that the successful completion of a three semester hour course should reasonably require a student to spend approximately ten hours per week for fifteen weeks on course work. Even though this is probably an unrealistic expectation, when one considers the fact that for most teachers the completion of a three semester hour course involves some commuting time, some class time and some preparation time, it seems likely that a teacher would in fact invest ten hours per week in a course. This means that the completion of a 36 hour master's degree requires one to work approximately 1500 hours overtime. Fifteen hundred hours translates into the equivalent of one full school year. In addition, when one considers the cost of tuition, books and transportation, the idea that a teacher is required to spend one full year of salary to gain a master's degree is not preposterous if that teacher has to cover his/her own costs. Given a teacher's salary and the salary increment attached to the master's degree, it would take a teacher seventeen years, at least in the system here studied, at the higher level of pay to recover this monetary investment.

The reader may think this time and money view of the matter is too

calculative and too disparaging of the professionalism of teachers and the commitment of teachers to self-improvement. Certainly, it is. Indeed, if teachers thought about the matter only in these terms, few would ever pursue a master's degree or any other advanced training. It simply does not pay, at least in monetary terms. However, teachers need not be non-professional or uncommitted to unconsciously or consciously take such facts into account. For example, many older teachers, especially secondary teachers, resented the Incentive Pay Program precisely because they would be required to make sacrifices to take advantage of it. As one older teacher (about forty) put the matter, "The Incentive Pay Program is probably a good deal for a beginning teacher or someone who does not have to depend on a part-time job to send his kids through college. For me, it's not worth it. I've got one child starting college next year and two more right behind him. To get incentive pay, I'd have to give up my part-time job. I can't afford it."

The point here is that the meaning, significance and relevance of any system of pay designed to induce persons to engage in staff development or continuing education is very likely to have different effects on persons depending upon their present circumstances and their present life styles and their anticipated obligations. A beginning teacher who is unmarried and sharing an apartment with a friend would be likely to be more excited about the $500 increase on a $13,000 salary than would an experienced teacher who is making $20,000, paying off a mortgage and anticipating college tuition for three children. Somehow, those who develop monetary incentive systems for teachers to participate in staff development must come to grips with the literature on relative deprivation.

What is good and what is bad, what is an incentive and what is an abomination depends on the life circumstances in which one finds oneself. The failure to take such factors into account may indeed make a significant contribution to the generally negative aura that surrounds much staff development for pay.

It was found in the present study that older teachers, in the main, were more concerned about time, whereas younger teachers seemed more concerned about substance or relevance. The reader should not assume, however, that older teachers are not concerned about substance, for they are. However, the time-substance equation seems more critical to older teachers than to younger ones. For example, it was found that younger teachers and teachers whose life circumstances made less necessary the concern with part-time jobs were more tolerant of philosophically oriented discussion or problem-solving exercises. Older teachers, especially older secondary teachers, were less tolerant of such activities. Indeed, such activities were considered "mickey mouse" and frivolous wastes of time. This condition could, of course, be attributed to the conservatism of age and the liberalism of youth or some other judgment that reflects poorly on older teachers. Perhaps a more promising explanation resides in the fact that the life circumstances of older teachers generally correlate highly with increases in demands for time. An unmarried teacher is likely to have fewer competing demands than persons who have social obligations to spouses and children. (It is recognized that such an assertion may be ideologically repugnant to some, but social reality is not totally determined by ideology. Indeed, the policies of some very strong historical institutions (e.g., the Roman Catholic Church) are shaped in part by well-founded belief that family obligations can

become distracting to a single-minded commitment to the service of others.) It is not, however, suggested that for staff development to be effective, it must attend only to needs of unattached women and unattached men. Neither is it suggested that the young and inexperienced are more likely to be responsive to qualitative differences in staff development, whereas older teachers are more likely to be responsive to quantitative dismensions. What is suggested is that age and life circumstances are likely to shape how one will respond to various forms of staff development, especially those forms of staff development that are attached to monetary incentives. Furthermore, efforts to make monetarily embedded forms of staff development relevant to the needs of some will make the time constraints too demanding for others. As will be more fully developed and argued in the last chapter of this report, a resonable way out of this situation is to divorce staff development and continuing education from any direct involvement in the way monetary rewards are distributed and monetary rewards are used in schools. An alternative approach would be to use money only to reward performance and goal achievement. Staff development and continuing education would then become vehicles that make it possible to achieve such rewards. So long as "succeeding" in staff development (i.e., finding a way to be present at a workshop or to comply with the expectations of a professor) rather than qualitative outcome measures determines the rewards one will receive in a school system, there is little chance that staff development will be designed and conducted in ways that systematically assure improved or enhanced performances. Indeed, the way staff development is currently embedded in the reward structure of schools often makes staff development an end in itself rather than a means to an end.

The third broad category of rewards and incentives identified as a result of this project was labeled confirmation. Basically, this category has to do with incentives and symbolic needs to indicate one's relationship to the system and to others within the system. The first and most obvious of these needs is the need for role confirmation. To anyone familiar with the operation of staff development, it should not come as a surprise that in the system studied, and most other systems, many persons participated in staff development only because they felt obligated to do so. The only incentive for attending was to demonstrate to self and to others that one was capable of and willing to meet these expectations. Teachers frequently expressed the matter as, "As a professional, I feel obligated to attend meetings like this. I think teachers should be expected to keep up." Administrators frequently indicated that their primary reason for participation was to demonstrate that the event was important or to give "moral support."

Many persons perceived invitations to participate in staff development or the lack of such invitations as evidence of status in the system and as confirmation that one's position in the order of things was as one perceived it to be. For example, assistant principals frequently observed that coordinating teachers were "invited" to participate in preferred forms of staff development and many took this as evidence that the significance of the role of assistant principal was on the decline. Persons who conducted workshops frequently took the presence of the Superintendent, an area superintendent, a building principal or some other official as a symbolic confirmation of the significance of their program or project. Similarly, when highly visible staff development programs involved especially visible actions, numerous strategy sessions were held to determine who should be invited to participate, who would be

insulted if they did not get an invitation and so on. In effect, the question being asked was, "Which roles need to be confirmed by this activity and what will be the cost if such confirmation does not take place?" Conversely, those who were invited to participate frequently engaged in conversations regarding the meaning that might be conveyed if they lent their presence to the program or activity. Sometimes individuals would refrain from such activity precisely because they felt that their presence would be detrimental to the long-run health of a program in which they believed. For example, one informant related the view that the worst thing that could happen to a program in which he/she believed was that it would become too closely identified with him/her since that individual had taken too many controversial positions on the topic at hand. In all, at least five instances were observed in which other individuals indicated similar sentiment about other programs they supported. Thus, in this system at least, and probably others, many persons participate or fail to participate precisely because lending their presence or demonstrating their absence confirms the role they perceive themselves as playing.

One of the more interesting effects of this role confirmation incentive is that some persons seem to participate precisely so that they can show their antipathy to the system. For example, some of the most vocal and active critics of almost any and all forms of staff development were also some of the most active participants. For these persons, staff development seemed to provide a forum to confirm their roles as organizational critics as well as a forum wherein they could gain assurance that who they think they are in the system is consistent with who others think they are.

A second and somewhat overlapping confirmational type of incentive is the confirmation of loyalty expressed from a superordinate to a subordinate, sometimes from a peer to a peer, and sometimes from a subordinate to a superordinate. For example, top level functionaries were frequently observed attending staff development activities precisely because they wished to convey their faith and loyalty to those in charge of managing the activity. Indeed, the interview data indicate that superordinates show a strong preference for explaining why they attend staff development activities targeted on subordinates in terms of expression of support and loyalty. However, there is substantial variation regarding the persons toward whom the loyalty is expressed. For example, numerous occasions were observed upon which superordinates made their presence felt in order to convince workshop participants or other participants in staff development that the activity had support from above. In other instances (e.g., Joslin, 1982), it was observed that superordinates frequently participated in staff development activity in order to demonstrate their loyalty to subordinates who were resisting substantial elements of the staff development program. Similarly, many instances have been observed in which individuals participated in staff development to provide "moral support" for the person in charge. Teachers sometimes sign up for workshops offered by other teachers so that the numbers will be sufficient that others will have the opportunity to hear what they have to say. In essence, what is being suggested is, "I already know what he or she has to say, but he or she says it well and others should hear it."

Given the dominance-submission ethos that permeates bureaucratic

structures generally, it should not be surprising that many persons participate in staff development activities for no other reason than that they believe that somebody above will take congizance of their loyalty. Therefore, many persons participate in staff development activities, especially at the building level, precisely because the boss wants them to. For example, Joslin (1982) reports on one instance in which highly influential teachers participated regularly in a system-wide form of staff development primarily because the principal asked them to. Furthermore, these persons, upon finding the training received to be generally inappropriate to their situation, continued to participate because they felt that their failure to continue would cast their school in a bad light as opposed to schools that responded more positively. This is what is meant by confirmation of loyalty.

The final form of confirmation that has been observed is generally recognized in the literature though its effects are seldom explicated. This form of confirmation is referred to here as confirmation of subordination. Persons who attend renewal workshops in a ritualistic fashion (the evidence in this study is that there were many of these) and persons who are assigned to participate in staff development (there are few of these in the context of this study) are in effect confirming their subordination. The interesting thing is that, at least on the basis of this study, those who get involved in such activities seldom differentiate between those activities that cause them to remediate perceived deficiences and those activities that only confirm subordination. For example, it was frequently observed that principals held long and generally, to the participants at least,

unsatisfactory meetings to clarify policies and procedures that only a few were violating. For this few, the activity could be viewed as confirming their inadequacy, but for many the only thing that was confirmed was their subordination. In this system, every Wednesday the principals had the right to call a meeting and teachers had the obligation to attend. Based on information provided by informants and direct observations, it seems clear that many of these Wednesday afternoon meetings were confirmational exercises. For a few, these meetings may have constituted enhancement (i.e., they learned something they didn't know or learned to do something they could not do). For the many, however, the primary thing that was accomplished in most of these meetings, at least from the perspective of the participants, was a confirmation of the right of the principal to hold them after school for interminable meetings that were distracting to dinner plans and family obligations and which were personally discomforting.

The Significance of Functions and Rewards and Incentives

Throughout the present chapter, implicit reference has been made to the reasons functions and rewards and incentives provide a useful way to conceptualize differences between and among various forms of staff development. It seems well, however, to make these reasons more explicit.

First, in the conduct of this research project, the researchers have become convinced that over attending to the manifest functions of staff development may lead evaluators to erroneous conclusions about the merit of any given form of staff development. For example, it may lead evaluators to conclude that programs that fail to produce the desired

change are without value to the system and should be abandoned when in fact the programs may be serving very important functions that are unarticulated and/or unrecognized. Conversely, failure to take into account the pressure that any change-oriented staff development activity is likely to place on the maintenance of a school may lead to an over-estimation of the systemic value of a program that is demonstrably effective in producing the change intended. For example, there can be little doubt that one of the primary effects of many of the National Science Foundation sponsored summer institutes and school year institutes that were prevalent during the 1960's was to make it possible for universities to identify and recruit high quality graduate students, most of whom never returned to the classroom. Given the manifest intent of these programs (i.e., to improve science instruction), such an unintended consequence could be viewed from the school system's perspective as undesirable.

Similarly, in the school system studied here, it is important to examine the degree to which participation in and commitment to staff development facilitated patterns of informal communication regarding school policies and programs. The importance of such communication within a large urban school system cannot be easily dismissed. Indeed, even if it could be convincingly demonstrated that none of the forms of staff development that were studied in this research project were clearly effective in achieving the objectives that were officially intended, a reasonable case could still be made concerning the importance of staff development. A system's commitment to staff development and the activity generated by that commitment supports and maintains a pattern of communication in an informal network of relationships that is

essential to effective responses to pressures for change emanating from the larger environment. It was frequently observed that when crisis situations arose, those persons most likely to be called on to respond to these crises were persons who, in the past, had assumed major responsibility for staff development activity. It was also observed that these persons frequently were able to bring together configurations of persons to address those issues that cut across roles, organizational assignments and institutional affiliations. Indeed, outside of building level meetings, there were few instances of cross role and cross administrative unit interactions that were not directly or indirectly facilitated by some form of staff development activity.

A second reason for the belief in the importance of distinguishing staff development in terms of the function served has to do with planning. It appears, based on this study at least, that one of the primary reasons many change-oriented forms of staff development fail to produce the changes intended is that program planners fasten their attention primarily on problems associated with producing change and tend to overlook the maintenance requirements produced by change efforts. For example, most specialists in staff development are ideologically committed to the proposition that staff development is most effective if it is job embedded and takes place on school time. Teachers generally say that they would prefer to participate in staff development activity during the school day. However, it was found in this study, as in Ward and Tikunoff's (1983), that many teachers who were provided released time to participate in staff development actually resented being taken away from their students, even when being taken away meant nothing more than going down the hall to a classroom other than their own. Indeed,

Lawrence (1974) reports as one of the main findings of his review of research on inservice teacher education that the inservice programs most successful in accomplishing their objectives were ones that were scheduled at times that did not compete with but complemented other professional obligations of the participants and that programs scheduled during work hours were considerably less successful in achieving objectives.

Logically, such empirical findings present designers of change-oriented staff development with a paradox. On one hand, designing staff development so that it occurs during the evening or during the summer sets staff development apart from the work setting and suggests that participation in staff development is not a part of one's job. On the other hand, designing staff development so that it occurs during the school day necessarily requires that teachers be called on the attend to matters that will distract them from fulfilling what, from their perspective, are their classroom duties. Indeed, some of our interview respondents, especially those involved in consultative roles (e.g., coordinating teachers, curriculum specialists) reported that one of the greatest difficulties they experienced was finding time to talk with teachers without interrupting the teachers' workday.

This paradox does not lend itself to a simple solution, but understanding that theoretically desirable forms of staff development may increase maintenance needs is essential in developing alternative designs. For example, if a particular form of change-oriented staff development seems to call for teachers being routinely released from classroom duties, the first step in implementing such a program might be to identify, orient and train a cadre of substitute teachers in whom

the regular classroom teacher had some confidence and over whom the regular classroom teacher had some degree of control. Monies might more appropriately be spent to support these types of activities than to provide stipends to teachers to join the "pooped teacher corps" in after school workshops. Professionally oriented teachers and administrators need not be opposed to change or uncommitted to improvement to resist participation in activities where possible long-term improvement is bought at the price of what they perceive to be inevitable short-term deterioration in the quality of instruction in their classrooms.

The reasons incentives and rewards are perceived to be a significant basis for distinguishing among forms of staff development are as follows. First, those forces that attract or induce persons to participate in staff development undoubtedly shape the expectations they have of the activity itself. This is neither a profound nor novel insight, but it is important nonetheless. It is especially important since the form staff development takes (e.g., the place it is offered, the patterns of instruction employed, the roles and status of participants) seems to serve to actualize some types of incentives and suppress others. For example, Lawrence (1974) reports that staff development programs that emphasize skill performance objectives are most effective if delivered on the school site. In general, persons interviewed in the present study indicated that they concurred with the conclusions suggested by Lawrence. For example, interview respondents indicated that staff development activities that involved demonstrations in their schools with the children they taught were more likely to produce change in their behavior than were programs delivered

in some other context. Thus, it seems reasonable to suggest that programs that intend to encourage persons to enhance performance capacities or modify classroom behavior should be delivered on site or in a context that approximates on-site experience.

It is, however, mistaken to assume that the only purpose of staff development is to change teacher behavior or to improve teacher performance. Such a view of staff development is inherently pathological, for it assumes that something is wrong or that there is something known that the participants do not understand. In effect, such a view of staff development centers attention almost exclusively on the introduction of technological change and the enhancement of performance to support the conditions of such changes. Such a view totally overlooks the potential of staff development as a mechanism for introducing or supporting structural change and totally ignores the possibility of using staff development as an intentional mechanism for motivating continual effort and sustaining procedures and processes which presently seem to be serving the system well. For example, it is generally accepted that one of the major frustrations of classroom teachers is the lack of opportunity to gain or confirm status among peers and colleagues on the basis of public demonstrations of competence to perform (Lortie, 1975; Little, 1981; Dreeben, 1970; Waller, 1932). Participation in staff development coupled with opportunities to demonstrate competence before others whose judgments are valued can serve to provide competent teachers with an effective vehicle for confirming their competence and assuring their status. Indeed, many persons interviewed in the present study indicated, directly or indirectly, that one of the reasons they valued some forms of staff

development over others was that some forms provided them with an opportunity to show others what they were capable of doing. As one teacher put the matter, "The thing I like about this program is that it gives me the opportunity to show others what I am doing and to find out what they think about it. All teachers think they're pretty good, and it's good to have someone other than kids agree with you." In a time when teaching is apparently becoming less attractive to able and assertive persons, using staff development as a means, at least within schools, of enhancing the status of the competent and confirming the competence of teachers may be a desirable and appropriate goal.

There are also other reasons that incentives are important. It is generally acknowledged that staff development is more effective when those who are to be recipients of the activity are involved in problem identification, program design, and decisions regarding how programs will be delivered. At least, a part of the reason for this condition is that participant involvement tends to clarify goals and objectives for the participants and creates investment and commitment to courses of action outlined. There can be little doubt that programs that develop and sustain positive and active participant commitment are, in the long run, more effective than those that depend on passive compliance. The difficulty, of course, is in developing strategies to gain such positive commitment. How, for example, does one induce a faculty that has had no experience in shared problem identification, shared goal setting and program planning to undertake such a task in the beginning? Again, there is no easy answer to such questions, but if one considers the range of rewards that can be used to induce participation, one is in a better position to make conscious decisions that may result in a

movement from passive compliance to active commitment. For example, in one of the programs studied in this project (see Whitford, 1981; Joslin, 1982), the early stages of the project depended almost entirely on three forms of inducement. First, some people became involved because they felt an obligation to assure that their faculty was represented. For others, the primary inducement was a stipend or the opportunity to receive credit toward a master's degree. In interviews with program participants, very few people were found who initially participated because they felt the program would improve their knowledge or skills, Indeed, most of those who initially participated indicated that they agreed to do so even though they did not know why the program was being put in place or what was involved. The way the program was designed, however, participants were provided numerous opportunities to gain or confirm status (e.g., participants frequently presented demonstration lessons to other teachers, to nationally known consultants and to top level administrators). The program also provided opportunities for building level skill development and in-class consultation as well as cross building visitation and support groups.

By the end of the second year of implementation of this program, many persons who had initially entered it for calculative reasons were positively committed to it. The consequence was that by the time resources to support stipends and credit opportunities were no longer available, there were more teachers actively seeking opportunities to participate in the program than was the case when the claims of loyalty or subordinate roles were the primary inducers to participate. The key here seems to have been that wittingly or not the program designers

created a condition within the context of the program that actualized incentives that were not present to induce initial participation.

Conversely, another program was observed that relied primarily on monetary rewards and easy access as a means of inducing participation. However, this program provided no systematic means to confirm status or advance careers and most other forms of teacher incentives were not considered in the program design. In the initial stages, numerous persons seized on the opportunities provided. It quickly became apparent to those who designed the program (i.e., the Incentive Pay Program mentioned earlier) that many persons were participating for no other reason than to attain a salary increment. Consequently, the program was redesigned. The economic incentive was retained, but the ease of access was reduced. The result was a dimunition of interest in participation in the program.

In sum, what is suggested is that by attending to the incentives created by various forms of program design, program planners might well be able to develop programs that, over time, become increasingly attractive to participants whose initial involvement is at best passive and at worst negative.

For program evaluators, incentives are also important. For example, in the present study it was observed that, in general, secondary teachers responded quite differently to particular forms of staff development than did elementary teachers. As mentioned earlier, many secondary teachers objected to workshops and building level meetings that emphasized process goals, whereas elementary teachers tended to place greater value on such workshops. Undoubtedly, part of this difference had to do with the general orientation of secondary

teachers as contrasted with the orientation of elementary school teachers. It seems to be the case that elementary teachers, as a rule, are more comfortable with developmental activities, whereas some secondary teachers see developmental activities as "mickey mouse." However, there may be more here. While it is the case that both elementary teachers and secondary teachers spend most of their occupational lives behind closed doors with relatively young students, the conditions of employment of secondary teachers provide many more opportunities for adult-adult interactions than do the conditions of employment of elementary teachers. In the school system studied here, for example, all secondary teachers had at least one free period which many spent in the teachers' lounge working on papers and conversing with colleagues. Elementary teachers were not routinely provided such opportunities. Consequently, opportunities for adult-adult communication probably provided more psychic rewards for elementary teachers than for secondary teachers.

Observations made during the course of this study as well as our review of the literature on teacher centers indicate that, in general, elementary teachers are more responsive to teacher centers than are secondary teachers. There are undoubtedly many reasons why this is so, but one of the reasons may be that the secondary school teachers' lounge and the uncommitted lunch period meet, for secondary teachers, many of the psychic needs that elementary teachers find best met in the atmosphere of a teacher center.

Thus, evaluators and designers of staff development programs as well as those who implement such programs need to be sensitive to the possibility that the context of the work place may actualize very

different incentives for participation in staff development, and the degree to which these incentives are effectively responded to by the staff development program probably goes far to explain why a program is perceived by some to be attractive or effective, whereas others perceive it to be unattractive or ineffective. Persons who enter a program seeking opportunities for status enhancement may respond positively to one form of program design, whereas persons entering the program primarily to enhance skills may find another design more desirable. Variations in incentives, and variations in the mixture of incentives present among participants clearly shape the values they bring to their own evaluation of the merit and worth of a given program or activity.

Chapter Four

Direction, Coordination, and Control: Three Key Aspects of Staff Development

One of the greatest difficulties confronting program evaluators is determining whether the program being evaluated was in fact implemented in the way intended. Indeed, numerous researchers (e.g., Gross et al., 1970; Sarason, 1971) have suggested that one of the more plausible explanations for the failure of a program to produce intended results is that the program was in fact never really installed. Saying that a program was implemented does not make it so.

In the present study, numerous instances were found in which it was easy to document that the intended design of staff development programs was never fully implemented and sometimes never implemented at all. For example, the original intention of the Incentive Pay Program mentioned earlier was to have principals and building coordinating teachers work with classroom teachers in systematically assessing staff development needs. Based on these assessments, the intention was to develop uniquely tailored staff development programs and to pay individuals for successfully completing these programs. Over a three-year period, the character of this program changed to the point that it evolved into a middle step on a salary scale in which teachers were rewarded for pursuing standard programs based on the established curriculum of colleges and universities. Thus, over time,

what began as an individualized program controlled exclusively by the school system became a standardized program controlled by another agency (institutions of higher education). This case and others like it have led to the conclusion that the inability to maintain direction is one of the most persistent problems confronting the staff development enterprise. Furthermore, this difficulty seemed clearly related to the inability of those charged with the responsibility to effectively coordinate action relevant to programs and to control the resources necessary to support that action.

In Chapter Two, some of the reasons for these difficulties were pointed to (e.g., the way power and authority related to staff development were distributed). In Chapter Three, at least by implication, some other sources of difficulty were pointed to (e.g., the diverse functions staff development is called upon to serve and the diverse sets of incentives individuals bring to staff development). The purpose of this chapter is to bring these scattered explanations together into a more coherent whole. It is intended that this more holistic picture present the reader with a conceptual framework which might facilitate both the design and evaluation of staff development programs.

This framework proceeds from a number of assumptions. These are:

(1) In most cases, the official intentions of staff development programs have to do with inducing or supporting change or improvement efforts. For good and logical and bad and illogical reasons, courses of action are mapped out, intended activities are designed and resource needs (e.g., personnel requirements, time requirements) are specified. To determine whether or not a particular form of staff development has

had its intended effects, it is first necessary to demonstrate that the program was able to maintain the direction intended or that shifts in direction were made because formative assessments indicated that for the program to produce its intended outcomes such shifts were appropriate. In sum, it is assumed that a first order effect and a primary criterion for evaluating staff development programs is the extent to which the program is able to maintain the direction intended and to resist pressure to change direction except in the light of evidence that the present direction is not achieving intended effects.

(2) The ability of an organization or a program to maintain direction is in part dependent upon the ability to unify action (i.e., coordination) in such a way as to maximize mutually supportive activity and to minimize competitive and/or mutually exclusive actions. Thus, another effect or criterion for staff development that must be assessed is the ability to coordinate action in the direction intended.

(3) The ability to coordinate action is in part, at least, determined by the extent to which those who are called on to provide such coordination are in positions that permit them to exercise direct or indirect control over the resources needed to support the actions the intended direction suggest.

The three assumptions listed above suggest three types of evaluative questions. Examples of these questions are:

(1) What is the evidence that the program under study was able to maintain the directions intended (e.g., Were meetings held when they were supposed to be held? Were assignments done? Were appropriate personnel assigned?)? When directional changes were undertaken, what were the bases of these changes? For example, when a decision was made

to cancel a meeting or change the format of a presentation, was the decision made primarily to satisfy political forces or because emerging evidence indicated that the knowledge or skills to be developed would be more effectively transmitted under changed conditions?

(2) What is the evidence that program activity proceeds in a way that is mutually supportive and mutually reinforcing and that in the long run, at least, all of those associated with the program share a common perception regarding the goals, purposes and intentions of the program? Furthermore, what is the evidence that those who participate in the program come to value, embrace and accept as legitimate (i.e., rightful) the goals of the program and the actions the program requires of them? What is the evidence that the resources required or planned are in fact delivered, the personnel planned are in fact assigned, and the time allocated is in fact available and are these resources made available within a time frame that is consistent with the intentions of the program?

(3) Do those who are responsible for coordinating the program have the authority to command the presence of resources, materials, and personnel or to influence those who do have such control? Do staff development personnel have the authority to impose sanctions on those who fail to deliver desired resources? For example, when a consultant fails to appear, do those responsible for program coordination have any official authority to impose sanctions? If individuals fail to carry out tasks and assignments, what sanctions are available to those in charge of coordination? Are staff development personnel in a position to ensure that necessary support is provided by important "others" in terms of reinforcing the importance of the activity to the school and/or

school district? Is there sufficient control present to ensure that stated performance expectations of participants and providers will be assessed in a reasonable fashion, reinforced as important, and translated into specific implementation measures?

Determining that a staff development program is able to maintain direction does not assure that the program will be effective. However, the inability to maintain direction practically assures that the program cannot be effective in the ways intended. At the very least, it assures that the program designed is not the program being evaluated. Similarly, assuring that programs are well coordinated does not assure that the programs will be effective. For example, voluntary workshops held after school with a single instructor are relatively easy to coordinate. Indeed, it is probably the case that such workshops are a preferred mode of delivering inservice <u>because</u> they are easy to coordinate. However, determining whether this type of workshop is the most effective necessitates evaluation of many other dimensions.

Finally, it is not suggested that the ability to control resources necessarily produces effective programs. For example, one of the ways the school system studied here dealt with the issue of control of inservice was to delegate control to colleges and universities (i.e., field based degree programs). Through the expedience of delegation, control over program activity and actions was relatively well assured. Instructors were assigned as a part of regular course load, grades were used as rewards for compliance with expectations and the routinized control structures of college programs were simply transposed to the school system. Control, therefore, was usually not a problem. Yet many college programs and courses were disparaged by many participants

as being ineffective in that much that was delivered was perceived to have little relationship to the job related needs of teachers and administrators.

Potential Effectiveness

In his book, The Sociology of Teaching (1932), Willard Waller admonished students of education to acknowledge that they were generally ignorant regarding the processes of schooling and suggested that the quest for precise statistical formulations regarding these processes might be misguided. He went on to state that "in the present state of our our science, (one) cannot hope to get very far ahead of common sense and (one) is usually fortunate if (one) does not fall behind it." (p. 3). It is suggested here that the present state of science in regard to staff development processes in schools is no further advanced than was our understanding of the schooling processes at the time of Waller's writings (1932). Our perspective at this time begins from a common sense approach. But, to that common sense perspective, we can add new understanding to the complexity of staff development processes. The following conclusions provide a starting point.

First, at the present state of our understanding of staff development, the complex interactions of schools and schooling processes virtually preclude the development of a causal framework that assumes that staff development is a cause and that some form of student outcome is an effect. Staff development is only one small component of those actions and activities in schools that have effects on students.[1]

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[1] Studies such as those of Stallings (1979) and Good and Grouws (1979) show that inservice can change student behavior and increase student learning. However, it is difficult to justify such findings for logistical, financial, and other reasons.

Second, in isolated and controlled situations, it is possible to determine the extent to which particular forms of staff development have intended effects. Bruce Joyce (1980), for example, has identified a variety of training components (e.g., modeling, corrective feedback) that must be present if one is to systematically impact upon teacher behavior in the classroom. Understanding what these components are can help set the direction for staff development (i.e., indicate what one should do). However, knowing what one should do or what one wants to do does not assure that one can do these things in the complex environment of schools. The critical question (i.e., the "can do" question) is determined by the ability of the staff development program under study to maintain direction. Furthermore, the maintenance of direction is dependent upon the ability to coordinate action and control resources in the direction that is intended. Thus, it is argued that among the most critical questions confronting staff developers and those who evaluate staff development programs are questions, largely unaddressed, that have to do with the ability of the program to maintain direction, the ability to coordinate action aimed at that direction and the ability to control the resources needed to support that direction.

Given this view, the question then becomes "What are the differences that seem to make a difference in the capacity of staff development programs and activities to maintain direction, to coordinate activities and to control resources in ways that are supportive of that direction?" The presence of these capacities does not assure program effectiveness, but the absence of these capacities may well make other evaluative criteria meaningless. In the broadest sense, the answer provided by

the present study is that the primary determinants of the ability of a staff development program to maintain direction and/or to purposefully alter direction are (a) the way the staff development program or activity is embedded in the authority structure of the school system and (b) the way the staff development program or activity is related to the reward structure of the school system. The intent of the remainder of this chapter is to more fully explicate the meaning of this conclusion. This requires us to look again at the issues of legitimacy, authenticity, and distribution of rewards.

Legitimacy, Authenticity, and Distribution of Rewards

To understand the operation of staff development in school systems, at least in the school system studied here, three conditions must be taken into account. First, the legitimate (i.e., rightful) goal of schools is to provide for the education of children, whereas the legitimate (i.e., rightful) goal of staff development is to provide for the education of adults. The consequence is that staff development can only be legitimized in schools to the extent that the activities associated with staff development can be intellectually, conceptually or empirically linked to the education of children.

Second, one must take into account the fact that in the end teachers are employees of school systems. As employees they are expected to pursue goals and engage in performances that are valued by the system or which are viewed as important or necessary by those with authority in the system. At the same time, teachers are members of an occupational group that is or aspires to be a profession. Thus, many teachers are ideologically committed to the proposition that as

professionals they should have considerable autonomy in making judgments about the kinds of services they will deliver and the way in which those services will be delivered.

Sociologists have long observed that there is a necessary tension between employing organizations and professionals (e.g., Merton, 1968; Corwin, 1965; Schlechty, 1976). Furthermore, sociologists have observed that the interests and needs of all employees whether or not the employees are professionals are sometimes not in harmony with the needs and expectations of the organization. Gouldner (1980), for example, writes, "A stress on authenticity implies that a concern with the claims of society (or organizations) is necessary but not enough either for the fulfillment of individuals or even for the effective operation of society " (p. 424).

Thus, another social fact that must be taken into account in understanding direction, control, and coordination of staff development programs in schools is that there is potential antagonism between programs directly related to the authentic needs of teachers, both as persons and professionals, and the requirements that organizations place on employees. Thus, one of the major problems that must be confronted in developing systems of coordination and control of staff development programs is the problem of reconciling the legitimate requirements that the organization imposes on its employees with the authentic needs of teachers as persons and professionals.

Finally, schools are systems of scarce rewards. School personnel, however, are frequently called on to "work overtime" or engage in some task that calls upon one to go "above and beyond the call of duty." Differential rewards (e.g., pay, higher status, public recognition) are

needed to encourage such performances. Unfortunately, administrators generally do not have access to such rewards, except through co-optation of the rewards attached to staff development. Indeed, one of the most profound realities is that in a system of scarce rewards where there are few flexible incentives to be used to maintain the system, most of the flexible incentives are attached to staff development activities. The consequence is that responding to maintenance needs becomes an overwhelming part of the mission of staff development.

The Question of Legitimacy

It is a fact of organizational life that those who are in a position to control the allocation of resources and render evaluations that count (i.e., evaluations that make a difference in the life chances of individuals and the organizational chances of programs) are in a position to determine, at least in the short run, what programs, activities and performances will be considered legitimate (i.e., rightful). In organizations, a program is legitimate to the extent that those who have control over resources are willing to allocate those resources to support program activity and to the extent that those who have evaluative authority concur that the goals pursued by the program are rightful. Given this avowedly pragmatic definition of legitimacy,[1] the following suggestions are made, based on our study and our understanding of the relevant literature, regarding the ways in which program

[1] For the reader who is concerned about some of the more basic theoretical issues involved in definitions of legitimacy, Dornbusch and Scott's Evaluation and the Exercise of Authority (1975) is recommended.

legitimacy affects the coordination, direction, and control of staff development programs.

1. So long as those who control scarce resources are also those who exercise evaluative authority, it is likely that program direction will be maintained and the coordination and control problems will be minimized.

2. When control over the resources needed to support program activity is dispersed or when evaluative authority relevant to the program is diffuse, directional problems and problems of coordination and control are increased.

3. When the authority structure that governs the allocation of resources is separate from the authority structure that governs the way evaluations are made and acted on, the ability to maintain program coordination, direction, and control is greatly compromised.

In summary, these conclusions suggest that for programs to be effective, program activity must be acknowledged as legitimate in the authority structure that governs the way evaluative decisions are made. Furthermore, as the following discussion will indicate, when those with authority over resources render judgments that are not supported by those with evaluative authority, those with evaluative authority will finally determine what forms of program activity are legitimate. Finally, the analysis presented in the following discussion will demonstrate that <u>because of the way schools are presently organized, those with evaluative authority are likely to be located in positions that emphasize maintenance functions as opposed to change functions</u>. Thus, there is a tendency to evaluate most highly those programs and activities that contribute most to keeping things from getting worse.

Concurrently, there is a tendency to devalue most of those programs that divert resources from the existing maintenance system or place additional pressures on this system (e.g., change and improvement efforts).

It is important that the reader understand that it is not being suggested here that those with evaluative authority are conservative defenders of the status quo or that they are not interested in change and improvement. What is being suggested is that the scarcity of rewards available in school systems, especially discretionary rewards, places considerable pressure on the maintenance system. Though ideologues and publics may demand that schools get better and teachers improve, they seldom couple these demands with additional resources. Furthermore, given the scarcity of discretionary rewards to support necessary maintenance functions, when additional resources are made available (e.g., a grant is procured), there is a strong drive for the reward-starved maintenance system to co-opt these rewards simply to keep on keeping on (see, for example, Corwin, 1973). Those who would change schools might do well to consider their first aid lessons. It does little good to engage in elaborate surgery if the patient stops breathing. The first thing that must be done is to assure the maintenance of vital signs. Similarly, when the demands for change and the demands for accountability are placing so many school personnel under stress, it should not be surprising that those with evaluative authority give preference to using resources in ways that offset the deleterious effects of these demands (e.g., rewarding teachers for past service above and beyond the call of duty).

Illustrative Cases

In the conduct of this research project, numerous instances were identified in which the nature of legitimating structures had a clear impact on the way staff development programs were coordinated and controlled and the ability of programs to maintain direction. Many of these instances are commonplace and similar cases have already received attention in the literature. For example, Corwin (1973) has observed that Teacher Corps projects that located the control of resources outside the authority structure of schools (e.g., in universities) seemed more likely to produce change than did those in which control of resources was located within the school system. This is a clear illustration of the tendency of the maintenance system of schools to co-opt resources committed to change.

However, in the present study, it was found that there were numerous instances in which change-oriented efforts did have systematic effects, at least to the extent that they maintained direction and problems of coordination and control were minimized. In each of these cases, furthermore, resources were controlled within the school system. However, in cases in which direction, coordination, and control were maintained, the activity was rendered legitimate not only by the allocation of resources but also by support within the evaluative system (e.g., the installation of the reading management system described earlier and the case reported by Joslin, 1982).

What is more important, perhaps, is that in the course of this research project, numerous cases were observed in which those with direct control over resources (e.g., program directors with fiscal authority, workshop instructors and sometimes instructors in college courses) made

decisions regarding courses of action that were later reversed by persons with evaluative authority (e.g., building principals, area superintendents), but there was seldom a case in which those with fiscal authority and no evaluative authority were able to reverse decisions of those with evaluative authority. Furthermore, in those few instances in which reversals did occur, those with fiscal authority generally were able to appeal to some super evaluative authority for the basis of the reversal of the decision. For example, project directors with fiscal authority for funds allocated through state and federal projects were sometimes able to induce principals and top level administrators to support actions they might otherwise have resisted on the basis that guidelines required it and/or funds would be lost if they did not do it. Thus, those with evaluative authority in school systems seem to be influenced by those with fiscal authority primarily when those with fiscal authority could identify a higher order evaluator who would be displeased. Evaluation, therefore, seems to be the primary mechanism by which the operational directions of programs are established. Furthermore, when there is disagreement between those with evaluative authority and those with fiscal authority, the direction of the program is often irratic and the direction and control of the program is difficult to maintain. For example, it was not unusual to observe instances in which fiscal resources were made available to provide substitute teachers so that teachers could attend staff development only to have line administrators cancel the use of substitute teachers for this purpose. In one instance, a federal project director gained permission to pay principals a stipend for attending a Saturday workshop (see Whitford, 1981). Those with evaluative authority vetoed

the action as inappropriate since it was felt that this constituted double-dipping on the part of twelve month employees. At the same time, those with evaluative authority did not think it was legitimate or desirable to command the presence of principals at the Saturday workshop or to provide school time for such activity. The effect was that only those building principals who were willing to volunteer were involved in the program, and a substantial portion of the funds were returned to the funding agency.

Under such conditions, program designers quickly come to understand that it is not enough to have fiscal resources and control over those resources. In addition, one must have the cooperation of those who have evaluative authority and/or must have evaluative authority oneself. Perhaps this is one of the reasons that building level activity that has the support of the principal seems to be one of the most effective forms of staff development activity. The office of building principal is, after all, the lowest level in the organization in which evaluative authority and authority over resources is likely to be combined in one organizational unit. And, it is the congruence between fiscal authority and evaluative authority that seems to determine whether a program will have sufficient legitimacy to proceed in intended directions.

Reward Structures

If one is to understand how staff development operates in schools, one must understand how such activities are associated with the reward structure of the school. There are several conditions that seem to be typical.

First, in most schools, rewards that can be purposefully distributed on a differential basis (e.g., merit pay increases, promotions, opportunities for travel) are scarce. The way schools are organized and the way the teaching occupation is structured make rewards generally scarce, and those rewards that do exist are likely to be distributed equally among categories of employees (e.g., salary increments based on experience).

Second, to the extent that schools do differentiate among employees in terms of rewards, especially monetary rewards, this differentiation is more likely to be based on participation in staff development than on any other condition. Indeed, the idea of differentiating among employees for pay purposes on any basis other than participation in continuing education (and experience) is ideologically repugnant to many teachers.

Third, opportunities for status rewards are also closely linked with participation in continuing education. For example, if one aspires to move from the ranks of teachers to the ranks of administrators, one must pursue a course of graduate study.

Staff development is related to the reward structure of schools in other ways as well. For example, due to federal funding policies and lobbying efforts by teacher organizations, there is a growing feeling among teachers that any continuing education activity they undertake other than that which occurs on school time should be rewarded with direct payment in the form of salary supplements or stipends. Another examples is the fact that colleges and universities have frequently used the right to participate in continuing education as a means of inducing teachers to do work they (the IHE's) need to have done. Many

colleges provide teachers with tuition remission in exchange for supervising student teachers. Furthermore, along with the personal satisfaction one might gain from participation in college courses and the opportunity for self-improvement that these courses may provide, the fact that such courses can produce increases in salary is also an important consideration.

In addition, more subtle forms of reward seem to get attached to participation in continuing education activity. For example, much of the activity sponsored by teacher centers seems to be associated with the psychic rewards gained through instructing other adults and the honor one gains for being acknowledged by one's peers as being successful in the enterprise. The visibility one gains from participating in (or better yet, taking a leadership role in) system-wide inservice can also be highly valued by classroom teachers who desire to move up in the system, for such visibility is often a prerequisite to upward mobility (e.g., promotions, transfer to a preferred school).

In sum, the way schools are organized creates a condition in which participation in continuing education is a powerful force in determining the degree to which one will gain access to those few differential rewards that are available in the system. Since such rewards are scarce in schools, this relationship is an important one.

It is also important to understand that the way continuing education is embedded in the reward structure of schools makes it difficult for building level staff to exercise control over how these rewards will be distributed or to whom they will be extended. The financial resources of schools are seldom controlled at the building level. Furthermore, even when building administrators and staff are granted some autonomy

with regard to budgets, this autonomy is usually limited by proscriptive guidelines which border on being prescriptive. The fact that school buildings frequently appear to operate as relatively autonomous units sometimes serves to distract attention from the fact that most material rewards and many symbolic rewards available to support continuing education are controlled by or located in organizational units that transcend the confines of the local building unit and sometimes the school system. For example, few building principals or faculties are in a position to determine the content of college courses or the performance in which one must engage to complete those courses. These determinations are a jealously guarded prerogative of institutions of higher education. Thus, teachers who would pursue the courses associated with graduate degrees must comply with the performance expectations of colleges and universities not those of a school faculty.

Similarly, the offering of stipends, tuition remission, and release time are all typically controlled at levels beyond the building level. Sometimes these controls are located at or below the level of the school board (e.g., the Superintendent or someone to whom he/she delegates authority) and sometimes these controls are located outside the school system (e.g., IHE's, state education agencies, federal agencies, or private foundations). Frequently, these controls are lodged in offices concerned more with budgets and auditing procedures than with programmatic considerations. Unfortunately, those in positions to conduct audits and those who must respond to audits find it inconvenient to give others discretionary authority. Rather, their tendency is to promulgate guidelines that provide protection against the worse possible case. Such accounting procedures generally emanate

from the system level or outside the system, thus limiting the discretionary authority of those at the building level to reward participation in continuing education (Whitford, 1981).

The result of this condition is that those building level units that are most likely to gain access to the rewards associated with job-related continuing education and at the same time maintain control over the shape of the activities in which they will participate are those buildings that have "system-wide" administrators and/or teachers. For example, in this study it was observed that school buildings and intermediate administrative units that had as their chief administrator persons with prior experience in central office administration roles or who had served on system-wide committees seemed to have had available to them more discretionary resources to support continuing education activity than those without such experiences. It is, of course, possible that this differential was based upon favoritism and associated with informal influence networks. The data do not make it possible to definitively rule out this possibility. However, there is some evidence in this instance to indicate that access to system-wide resources to support staff development (e.g., opportunities to participate in high demand system-wide workshops with limited enrollment) was attributable to the fact that building level administrators and/or staff development specialists who had had prior experience at the central office better knew where to seek information and acted on that information with more dispatch than did administrators and staff development specialists who had not had system-wide experience. There was no evidence that system level personnel initiated action toward those who received more favorable responses any more than they did toward those who received less favorable

responses. Furthermore, the data make it abundantly clear that persons who participated in system-wide staff development activities were more likely to participate in other activities, at least in part because participation made them more aware of other opportunities, while those who did not participate were less aware. It is this quality of "being aware" of what resources are available and how they can be used that is referred to here as being "system-wise."

There are, in addition, a number of other important consequences that flow from the way staff development and continuing education are embedded in the reward structure. First, given the scarcity of differential rewards available in schools, and given that participation in continuing education is (a) one of the clearest ways to access these rewards, and (b) one of the few legitimate means by which rewards can be distributed on an unequal basis, continuing education policy and procedures become subject to a variety of pressures and interests that are only tangentially concerned with instructional improvement and/or professional growth. For example, there can be little doubt that linking pursuit of graduate degrees to differential salary increments encourages some teachers and administrators to pursue such degrees for no other reason than to advance on the salary scale or gain promotion. That the pursuit of such study could, should, or might lead to professional growth and improved instruction is not denied. However, one would be naive to assume that present conditions do not encourage a great deal of ritualism whereby teachers and administrators "tolerate" a wide range of irrelevant (from their perspective, at least) courses in order to achieve their primary goal, a promotion or salary increment.

Furthermore, in a time when college enrollments are declining (especially in education) and the worth of salary increments is diminishing, there is strong pressure on teachers, administrators, and higher education personnel to engage in an unspoken conspiracy to assure easy access to what few rewards there are in exchange for job-saving enrollments in college programs. The fear that such a "conspiracy" is already under way is certainly widespread among educators and some school boards.

A second consequence of the way job-related continuing education is embedded in the reward structure of schools is that there is considerable pressure to use the rewards attached to participation to support many activities other than or in addition to those for which the rewards are intended. For example, a routine procedure in the school system studied here is that school system personnel negotiate for credit (renewal credit and sometimes college credit) for faculty who take active roles in the preparation of regional accreditation studies. (The authors are aware of at least four states in which this is a common procedure.) One need not deny the potential value of regional accreditation studies as staff development to inquire as to why the rewards one receives for giving time above and beyond the routine job requirements are those rewards associated with continuing education (e.g., renewal credit). Is it because there is a logical connection between what must be done and the continuing growth of teachers, or is it because in a system of scarce rewards, one uses the available rewards to do what one must?

There are, in addition, more blatant illustrations of how the reward structure is co-opted to support programmatic concerns other

than, and sometimes in competition with, the development of systematic continuing education programs. For example, as McDonald (1981) notes, colleges and universities have a vested interest in maintaining the link between the pursuit of graduate degrees and salary increments precisely because this linkage serves to maintain college enrollments. Similarly, building principals in the school system studied here use stipend producing workshops, travel to conferences, and released time as a means of rewarding teachers for past performance rather than as a means of assuring continuing growth.[2] Thus, in effect, participation in continuing education, especially if that participation involves stipends, tuition remission or graduate credit leading to salary increments, functions--or can function--as a proxy for merit pay.

A third consequence of the relationship of continuing education to the reward structure in schools is that the nature of this relationship can serve to enhance latent sources of conflict in school, activate (for good or ill) competitive actions between and among school building, departments, and administrative units, and foster feelings of relative deprivation among groups that are structurally denied access to the rewards that are available.

For example, state and federal programs intended to address equity issues in the school system studied here were typically focused more

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[2]Because these rewards are distributed on an ex post facto basis, individuals can not anticipate receiving them. Thus, the value of these rewards as positive motivators is compromised. In addition, rewards distributed in this fashion are seldom linked to performance expectations and the awarding of them is as likely to be viewed as favoritism as it is to be viewed as a positive incentive.

at the elementary school level than at the secondary school level. In addition, these programs typically placed considerable emphasis on the provision of rewards for participation in continuing education activities, including stipends, tuition remission, graduate credit and advanced degrees. The fact that secondary teachers were largely precluded from participation became a source of resentment. This condition also served to reinforce among secondary teachers a pre-existing view that "Whatever staff development is, it has more to do with elementary teachers than secondary teachers." Thus, the structure of the reward system, which is often shaped by system goals and priorities and goals derived from sources outside the system, can drive an even deeper wedge between groups in schools (in this case elementary and secondary teachers) and create negative as well as positive affect toward the job-related continuing education enterprise.

With regard to the tendency of the linkage between system rewards and continuing education to enhance competition between buildings or between departments or intermediate school districts, one needs to take into account the fact that control over these rewards is typically located outside these lower units. Thus, decisions about the distribution of the rewards are decisions regarding which units will or will not enjoy a relatively advantageous position vis-a-vis the reward structure. For example, if a school building is designated as a pilot center for one or another project and a part of the project involves systematic continuing education leading to advanced degrees, other faculties and administrators are likely to be resentful of those in the preferred building. (Numerous instances of such resentment were observed in the course of the present study.) Furthermore, this

resentment may become sufficiently strong to exert pressure on the central administration to distrubute resources among buildings in an equalizing fashion. Given the scarcity, in an absolute sense, of such resources and rewards, the effect may be to dilute the impact of the rewards available to the point that there is little effect in any building.

Attention should be given to another example which relates to the aforementioned concept of "relative deprivation." Over the years of this study, it was frequently observed that the colleges and universities that served the school system seemed to find it easier to operate site-based programs and courses for specialists (e.g., reading specialists, special educators and school administrators) than programs and courses that required cooperation from liberal arts faculties. The consequence was that persons who were pursuing degrees in reading, special education and administration were more frequently able to access appropriate courses on the school site, whereas those who were pursuing programs in secondary English, mathematics, science and so on were required to commute to campuses. Furthermore, the liberal arts faculties on university compuses seemed much less inclined to adjust their teaching schedules to accomodate these commuter students than did those in education departments.

Among the results of this condition were that some teachers perceived that school sponsored and/or supported continuing education, especially that which led to degrees and salary increments, was reserved for special and select categories of persons. In addition, the fact that most of the programs delivered to the school were taught by professors of education and seldom by liberal arts professors reinforced,

especially among older secondary teachers, the stigma that is sometimes attached to extension programs regarding "inferior quality." Unpleasant though it may be for educators, it is a fact that many teachers view education courses with disdain, and degrees that rely primarily on education courses are seen by many as "inferior."

In sum, given the way continuing education is related to the reward structure of schools, job-related continuing education is called on to serve many functions in addition to providing for the systematic improvement of instruction. The failure to distinquish among these functions seems to lead to considerable confusion about who should control what and at whose expense.

Chapter Five

Enhancing the Potential of Staff Development: A Point of View

In the preceding chapters, the intent was to describe how staff development functions in one relatively large urban school system. Given this description, some explanations as to why things occur as they do were also offered. The purpose of this final chapter is to use the preceding description and analysis as a basis for making some concrete suggestions regarding how staff development might be improved. While our suggestions are based primarily upon findings from this study, we believe that there is much that will resonate with staff developers and decision-makers in other settings.

A General View

Like Moore and Hyde (1981), we have come to the conclusion that unless significant changes can be made in conditions which presently exist, there is little likelihood that staff development in schools or the continuing education of teachers generally can be systematically improved and, in turn, play a significant role in improving schools. Indeed, we would be prepared to argue that qualitatively and quantitatively, the school system in which the present study was conducted is exemplary of the best that can be done with staff development under present conditions. We would also be prepared to argue that, for the most part, the system's commitment to staff development has not produced

as much in the way of systematic change and improvement as designers hoped would be the case. What it has done is provide a powerful adaptive mechanism which has served to support teachers and administrators in their efforts to cope with changes initiated from other sources. As discussed earlier, the school system has successfully responded to a court ordered desegregation plan including a heavy reliance on busing. Most informants in the system as well as experts from outside the system have attributed much of the success of this effort to the school system's commitment to human relations training. Similarly, when the school board mandated that a reading management system be installed, staff development was a primary mechanism used to help teachers cope with these new demands.[1]

In our view, however, if staff development is to become a vital force in bringing about change, school decision-makers must attend more carefully than they now do to the issues of legitimacy and authenticity for staff development and to the ways in which personnel and program evaluation and the distribution of rewards shape the way these issues are to be resolved. As mentioned earlier "legitimacy" has to do with the extent to which, in this case, staff development is

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[1]The fact that these changes did not begin with and result from staff development is a subtle but important point. The subtlety resides in the fact that the decision to integrate the schools and the decision to install a reading management system was not a staff decision. Indeed, staff had virtually no voice in these decisions. Thus, the source of the change was outside the control of the staff or staff developers. However, once the direction of the change had been established and the requirement for change had been assured, the staff development system was called upon to help personnel adapt to the new requirements.

endorsed by the organization as a "rightful" thing to do, and "authenticity" refers to the perceptions of recipients of staff development that it addresses their professional and/or personal needs. In the remainder of this chaper, these issues will be discussed in considerable detail and the reader will be provided with an indication of their implications for the future of staff development.

Sources of Legitimacy

Organizational action can be made legitimate (i.e., rightful) in at least four ways. First, organizational action can be made legitimate by appeal to traditional authority and local conventions. For example, the idea that a school building should represent a relatively autonomous social unit in the school system is justified primarily by tradition. Second, action can be justified by legal, rational or bureaucratic authority as manifested in the form of mandates for action. For example, the decisions to desegregate the schools and install the reading management system were both based on this type of authority and resulted in mandates. Third, action can be justified by reference to models and exemplars which are viewed as having some claim to technical or moral superiority. For example, it is not uncommon for school systems to identify a building unit as a "model" worthy of emulation by others and encourage others to observe and "do like they do." Finally, organizational action can be justified on the basis of the emergence of new knowledge or a reformulation of existing knowledge (research and theory). School systems could rightfully expect that all teachers make their practice conform with what has been discovered in recent years regarding effective teaching just as they could use research literature to justify requiring school administrators to alter their practices to conform with what is known about effective schools.

Why Staff Development is Adaptive and Conservative

As professionals, teachers and staff developers have little access to or direct impact on mandates derived from either traditional authority or legal authority. They have only slightly more impact on decisions regarding which models and exemplars will have saliency in the school system. Few teachers or administrators are knowledgeable about research on teaching and schools. Indeed, many teachers are dis-disdainful of research and find it irrelevant to themselves and their practice. These facts, taken together, seem to us to explain (1) why most staff development is conservative and adaptive, (2) why those forms of staff development that teachers respond to most positively are those that involve models and exemplars, and (3) why so little staff development contributes directly to the introduction of progressive and systematic change and improvement.

With regard to the first point (i.e., why most staff development is adaptive and conservative), it need only be observed that in schools most of the salient forms of authority are those that emanate from tradition and legal requirements (Dreeben, 1967; Waller, 1967). Tradition by its nature is conservative. Legal authority need not be conservative though it often is. Furthermore, when legal authority is used in progressive ways (i.e., ways that require change), the tendency is for those who are responsive to that authority to be required to adapt to the requirements of that change whether or not the change is consistent with their interests or values. Equally important, however, is the fact that those who are in a position to impose traditional and bureaucratic expectations on others also are typically in a position to engage in evaluations that count and distribute rewards that count.

Given the demonstrated connection between rewards that count, evaluations that count, and compliance with performance expectations (Dornbusch and Scott, 1975), it is not surprising that those with bureaucratic authority and traditional authority in and over school systems primarily determine the direction that change will take.

Since in most school systems, at least, those who conduct staff development and participate in staff development are subordinate to those with bureaucratic and traditional authority (e.g., line administrators, parents, and community influentials), it stands to reason that staff development would be oriented in a way to uphold the expectations of legal authority and those who by tradition determine expectations. Thus, it is not surprising that those who exercise bureaucratic and traditional authority also determine, in the long run, how staff development resources will be used since these persons also have control over meaningful evaluations and rewards. For example, it could be argued that the reputation of a teacher is much more dependent on the response of parents than on the respect of colleagues. Indeed, collegial respect is probably determined in considerable measure by the response of parents.

With regard to the second point made above (i.e., why models and exemplars have more saliency with teachers), there are undoubtedly numerous factors to be taken into account. For example, the literature in staff development (e.g., Joyce and Showers, 1980) certainly supports the notion that modeling is a preferred means of transmitting knowledge in education. The medical school adage "Watch one, do one, teach one" is a folk expression of the same preference. Probably one of the more critical aspects of models, and here we use "models" to refer to

individuals and programs as a source of authority, is that the use of models and exemplars tends to reduce the social distance between the source of authority and the recipient. Direct contact with another individual reduces social distance, and knowledge becomes much more personal and compelling (i.e., the recipient can come to believe in the person as well as the ideas and techniques being conveyed). The difficulty, of course, is that knowledge presented by models and exemplars is generally developed in unique contexts and the generalizability of that knowledge is always suspect. For example, teachers generally have much more confidence with a demonstration done in their school with their students than with a demonstration done with other students in other schools. In addition, it is frequently the case that knowledge conveyed directly by models and exemplars is difficult to articulate and frequently loses fidelity in subsequent transmissions. For example, in two instances we observed long-term staff development activities that seemed to have widespread effects on teachers so long as the original model, in this case, outside consultants, were made available within the context of schools and classrooms. However, when surrogates and second generation trainees attempted to act as models and exemplars, the intended effect seemed to be less clearly present. Thus, the effectiveness of organizational action based on models and exemplars must be in part attributable to the effect of charismatic authority,

and there is no known means of producing such authority "on call." Charisma is known when it is seen, but the creation of charisma remains a mystery.[2]

With regard to the third point above (i.e., why so little staff development contributes directly to the introduction of progressive and systematic change and improvement), it is our view that the greatest barrier to making staff development change and improvement oriented is the fact that teachers, staff developers, and those in control of evaluation and rewards not only do not use research to improve practice, they do not believe in research or even know about it to any significant extent. Indeed, for most of the persons we interviewed, including many with PhD's, both research and evaluation had very narrow and specific meanings. These meanings can be summarized as follows:

(1) For most teachers and administrators, "doing research" means nothing more or less than going to the library to find out what someone else has to say about the subject.

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[2] It seems reasonable to speculate that one of the reasons charismatic consultants are in such high demand and so highly paid is that such consultants present an alternative to traditional authority and bureaucratic authority and simultaneously contain elements of personal appeal and the excitement of subversion. For example, it was frequently observed that the more effective charismatic consultants routinely "preached" against the impersonality of bureaucracy and the silliness of some traditions and emphasized in their stead humanness and humaneness. "How bad we are and how good we could be if only tradition and bureaucracy did not blind us" seems to be the text of the majority of these evangels. Some, of course, took a slightly different tact. For them, it was "How good we are if only we knew it and the impersonal world we live in honored it."

(2) For a smaller group of teachers and administrators, "doing research" means counting something and developing a test of statistical significance.

(3) For a very small number of teachers and administrators, "doing research" means asking a question of importance and then using all possible means to find the best answer to it.

(4) For most teachers and administrators, evaluation means selecting or developing an "instrument," usually a test or a questionnaire, administering it, and reporting the numbers.

(5) For a smaller group of teachers and administrators, evaluation means comparing the numbers derived from some instrument to some desired (i.e., valued) state of affairs.

(6) For a very small number of teachers and administrators, evaluation means developing a wide range of data that will help one to decide whether what one is doing is worth the effort, and if it is worth the effort, whether what one is doing is the most effective and efficient method of doing the job.[3]

Given the way these six alternatives are framed, our biases are surely clear. It is our view that until most teachers and administrators view research as a way of finding out what is really going on and why things go on as they do and until they view evaluation as "a systematic method for schools to sort out what they have done, decide what they do well and enjoy doing, and rationalize continuing to do it"

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[3]Lest the reader think we are naive, we should also add a fourth alternative: for many teachers and administrators, evaluation is nothing more or less than generating numbers to satisfy some bureaucratic requiremnt and/or tolerating interference from some outsider who promises to do little good and may threaten to do harm.

(Clark and McKibbin, 1982 p. 671), research and theory are unlikely to serve as a basis for legitimizing staff development. Furthermore, we would argue that until research and theory serve as a basis for legitimizing staff development, most staff development will be conservative and adaptive rather than change and improvement oriented. Isolated exceptions will be found, of course, especially in those instances where a careful researcher is also charismatic or where a charismatic person is intuitively responsive to research findings. However, change oriented staff development that gives so much emphasis to charisma is enslaving itself to the laws of chance and the vagaries of individual biographies. The remainder of this chapter is an attempt to set forth a third alternative to those suggested by tradition and chance.

Legitimizing Authenticity

The first, and perhaps most controversial, point we would make is that if schools are to maintain organizational health, school decision-makers must be more attentive than they now are to the authentic needs of employees. Somewhat paradoxical to earlier concerns, we would argue that the authentic needs of employees cannot be appropriately responded to if school systems implicitly or explicitly require that all forms of staff development be directly linked to systems of evaluation and reward, especially if these systems of evaluation give priority to improved student performance or outcomes. A mixture of direct and indirect attempts to bring about change and improvement seems warranted. Staff development must be looked at as a long-term process rather than a short-term solution. Keeping things from getting worse is a critical

dimension of making things better. Indeed, management specialists in America (e.g., Ouchi, 1981; Pascale and Athos, 1981) have pointed out that a part of the genius of the Japanese management system is its attention to the authentic needs of employees even when these authentic needs are not translatable into bottom line equations. Similar conclusions have been drawn about management practices in well run U. S. businesses (Peters and Waterman, 1982).

The empirical basis for the above recommendation (i.e., that school decision-makers must be more attentive than they now are to the authentic needs of employees) is a direct result of the study reported here. Specifically, the school system in which this study was conducted presently enjoys a national reputation as one of the most successful urban school systems in America. It has also been quite successful im improving reading scores and in reducing discrepancies between minority children and the white majority on standardized tests. There are clearly many reasons for this success in addition to those that are attributable to staff development. However, at least some of the success must be attributed to the fact that the authentic needs of individuals is a central focus of staff development and neither the school board nor the Superintendent have been insistent that all of the dollars spent on staff development be directly tied to evidence that individual teachers have somehow improved. Indeed, some of the most visible forms of staff development in the system are avowedly therapeutic. For example, the school system's Employee Assistance Program has no other purpose than to respond to individual staff members who are experiencing personal difficulty. By school board policy, all information about participants, even including who they

are, is confidential can cannot be introduced into personnel decisions. The school system also funds a large Teaching Learning Center. School administrators responsible for the program as well as the staff of this center are most proud of the fact that the initials of the center are TLC which also means Tender Loving Care. Furthermore, since its inception, the Teaching Learning Center staff has successfully been able to resist engaging in any activities other than those requested by teachers on a voluntary basis.

In addition, the system conducts over 300 workshops per year for teachers and many of these workshops came into existence simply because 20 or more teachers indicated they had an interest in the topic. What is perhaps most startling is that a) there is no insistence that the outcomes of these workshops be evaluated and b) in every instance where efforts to evaluate programs have caused participants to resist, evaluation plans have been modified or abandoned. As was indicated in Chapter Two, in the system studied, the individual has primacy and much of the staff development activity is intentionally conducted in ways that are non-threatening and non-evaluative.

Such a mode of operation is, of course, not without critics. Some interview respondents saw much of the activity conducted in the name of staff development as "mickey mouse," "touchy-feely" and without substance. In spite of this fact, more than half of the professional employees in the school system voluntarily participated in one or more workshops each year during the time this study was being conducted, and most of these workshops were conducted after school. It should be pointed out that some of this participation was encouraged by the Incentive Pay Program, but in our view, the need for money and status

rewards, both of which could be met through staff development, is indeed authentic, especially in a reward starved environment.

Put differently, one of the greatest benefits afforded by the staff development system studied was that it provided teachers with a means of overcoming the isolation of the classroom and a means of maintaining a feeling of "correctedness" with the larger school system of which they were a part. Numerous interviews emphasized, for example, that participation in staff development was the primary means by which they found out what was going on in the system. And, has been noted elsewhere in this report, the staff development system served as a primary communication link for the school system.

It is crucial to point out, however, that while some of these staff development activities may not be concerned with direct ties to changed teacher behaviors or increased student learning, there are research results which indicate the importance of meeting what we are calling participants' authentic needs as an indirect means to improvement. Increased status and recognition, opportunities for collegial activities, enhanced financial stability, and increased self-esteem might be seen as a few of the direct outcomes of the above staff development in the district. While it would be difficult if not impossible to tie these outcomes directly to increased student achievement, there are logical and/or research based ties that support the importance of those outcomes. For example, teacher motivation has been shown to be highly correlated with the existence of teacher efficacy (Ashton et al., 1983) which has, in turn, been highly correlated with receptivity to change and more effective program implementation (Berman and McLaughlin, 1978). Collegiality has been shown to be a key element

in more effective schools (Little, 1981; Purkey and Smith, 1982) as identified by relatively greater student achievement and other criteria. An important part of developing collegiality in these studies was providing recognition and additional status to those who fully participated and provided leadership in the collegial efforts.

The point is that, while we may lack the ability to establish direct linkages between staff development to address these types of authentic needs and student learning, there certainly is a basis for making some well-educated "guesses" that they are likely to have a positive indirect influence. It is also probably much more than coincidence that most of these current outcomes of a direct nature could be labeled, as a group, as contributors to "stability" in terms of teachers feeling more a part of their work setting. Logically, that stability is a significant and desirable part of any system's attempt to "maintain" itself, a function of staff development which we have previously documented in this district.

But, a paradox is introduced with the recognition that both change and maintenance coexist as outcomes of staff development. On one hand, we and others have ideologically viewed maintenance and change as an either/or pair and mutually exclusive. But if many of the "stability" outcomes of the present staff development activities have been shown to be highly correlated with effective change and implementation, and yet are outcomes which exist in a school system dominated by a "maintenance" mode or operation, how then can change and maintenance be mutually exclusive? Unless one doubts the empirical evidence we have derived from this study or the results of the above referenced studies, there is only one reasonable conclusion to accept.

They cannot be mutually exclusive. Furthermore, if staff development that is clearly intended to perform a maintenance function produces outcomes that are also highly correlated with effective change and program implementation, we must then consider the possibility that maintenance may contribute to change as paradoxical as that may sound or as ideologically repugnant as it may seem.

A Possible Lesson

One of the results of the present study has been to give credence to the suggestion of Clark and McKibbin (1982) that it might be appropriate to view evaluation as "a systematic method for schools to sort out what they have done, decide what they do well and enjoy doing, and rationalize continuing to do it" (p. 671). Specifically, during the first year in which this research was being conducted, the university researchers became increasingly convinced that much of the staff development activity in the school system was at best only tangentially related to system goals and priorities and clearly had little prospect of leading to systematic change. The university researchers were particularly amazed (and some were appalled) by the fact that so much money was being spent and so little evaluation was being done. These conclusions and concerns were reported to the public school members of the research teams as well as to others who were not members of the research team (with appropriate permission, of course). Initially, the conclusions were resisted and the lack of evaluation was accepted as a problem. In the course of dialogue, however, it became clear to both the university researchers and to practitioners that the problem was not in school practice, but rather,

the problem was in the way the matter was being viewed. The fact is that both the university researchers and the practitioners had been unwittingly biased by an ideological preference that suggested that schools and school action are or should be rational and goal related. Over time and as a result of much pain, all the researchers came to embrace the view that such a perspective of schools was wrong and that to insist on such a view would lead both the university researchers and the practitioners to inappropriate conclusions and actions. Almost unwittingly both the university researchers and the practitioners came to discover collaboratively what modern organizational theorists have been saying for some time: "there will be ambiguity and anarchy in organizational systems; that they are not necessarily failing or in need of reorganization or restaffing simply because their institutions manifest nonsystematic responses" (Clark and McKibban, p. 672). Of course, such a "discovery" is not without costs. Clark and McKibban summarize these costs well when they write:

> Classical views of organizing are supported by political and psychological structures that are so strong as to be nearly unassailable. For example:
>
> . Who wishes to point out to legislators or boards of trustees the redundancy and waste that cannot be eliminated in an interorganizational arrangement and then to defend it as not only inevitable but probably desirable for attaining effective operations?
>
> . Would you like to be the first to report that, based on current activities, you have discovered an appropriate set of post facto goals for your organization?
>
> . Who will volunteer to point out that the new school improvement program is based on uncertain technology; is likely to result, at best, in some incremental change; is certain to be wasteful in execution; might better be designed to emphasize flexibility (a bit of playfulness) rather than orderliness; and is structured to make some failure safe rather than to be fail-safe?

A rational view of organizations is psychologically protective and politically expedient. In that rational world, one can be accountable and responsive, orderly and efficient, systematic and forceful, in control of one's own destiny. The tolerance for ambiguity is low. Grandiose schemes and promises are within one's grasp. Long-range planning is feasible. Fail-safe protection is possible. Of course, the evidence is overwhelming that, most of the time, such a world does not exist for most of us. But is it foolish to assume that the new perspectives will be embraced enthusiastically in the real world simply because they are grounded in that world? Much of the language and action of practice is designed to soften or to obfuscate the harsh realities of everyday life in organizations. Those who feel that the new perspectives will lead eventually to stronger, more effective organizations must first cope with the powerful hold exercised over practitioners, policy makers, and decision-makers by rational, systems-based organizational models.

One important lesson learned was that the costs related to these new perspectives may not be overwhelming. Specifically, once the university researchers and practitioner researchers had agreed that much that was done in the name of staff development in the system had no direct relationship to systematic change and once it was understood that this was not necessarily an undesirable condition, it became possible to present such conclusions even to critics in ways that made sense and were persuasive. When these conclusions were first presented to a school audience, the overwhelming response was negative. After subsequent discussion in which it was pointed out that maintenance is a necessary organizational function, attitudes began to change.

Recently, many administrators have indicated that they enthusiastically endorse the notion that one of the missions of staff development should be to "keep things from getting worse." As one put it, "What this research has done is tell us something most of us knew but would not or could not say." Thus, it can be argued that one of the results of this research project has been to legitimize some practices that would have otherwise been considered non-legitimate if they had been openly talked about. This leads to the belief that the best way to legitimize staff development oriented toward authentic needs in schools may be to conduct research on staff development that is grounded in actual prac-ice rather than grounded in a priori ideological commitments to a rational systems approach.

Legitimizing Staff Maintenance

Implicit in the foregoing discussion on authenticity is the idea that school systems, like other employers, have an obligation to assure that the conditions of work promote the personal growth of employees as well as their professional and technical growth. Indeed, persons engaged in human service activities (e.g., psychiatry, social work, health services, and teaching) are probably much more susceptible to "burn out" precisely because the values these persons are likely to manifest and the nature of the tasks they undertake require much more psychological stamina than do occupations in which one is not aiding in critical life decisions for others. This being the case, human service occupations must necessarily be more attentive than production-oriented occupations to maintaining the present capacity of employees, or so we argue.

The difficulty, of course, is that schools are embedded in public

bureaucracies and bureaucracies, by their nature, are based more on a punishment system than on a system of reward and growth (see, for example, Corwin, 1965). For example, recent actions intended to "improve the quality of teachers" have concentrated much more on identifying and getting rid of bad teachers than on selecting and nurturing good teachers (Vance and Schlechty, 1982). In the process of conducting the present study, the principal investigator had the opportunity to talk with and interview ten persons who were in personnel management in high technology industries in the state in which this study was conducted. In every case, these personnel managers were amazed at the insensitivity and lack of understanging school managers and school boards had toward the need to attend to the maintenance of psychic needs of employees. One, for example, said, "If we were as inattentive to the creature comforts of our employees for so little reward, our business could not survive." He went on to say that "It is not only monetary rewards that I am speaking of, even the lowest level person in our business likes to be told he is doing a good job. In fact, if you are telling people they are doing a good job when they are, then you don't have to tell a person when they are not doing a good job, because the lack of praise suggests something is wrong." Simple minded though it may appear, we believe that it is in the area of developing appropriate maintenance systems that businesses and public schools could come together in some joint endeavors, and success in these endeavors might lead to other mutually supportive responses as well. Furthermore, if business and industry gave its support to the development of such maintenance systems, this would go far toward legitimizing maintenance as an appropriate function of the schools.

What, then, are the arguments that educators might use to convince business and industry that it is in their interests to support schools in developing more growth-oriented strategies for school personnel. Beyond such obvious arguments as better schools are better for industry and better schools attract higher quality industry, several additional approaches can be suggested each of which has had some success in the school system in which this study was conducted. First, few employers are aware of or appreciate the fact that, on the average, 10% of those persons who they employ with a college education had their first adult job experience in the public schools (Vance and Schlechty, 1982). Thus, the first few years of teaching serve not only to train teachers, but as a training ground for future employees of industries, especially high technology industries (see Vance and Schlechty, 1982). Thus, it is in the vested interest of industry to support improvements in the work life of school teachers, for they get a substantial part of their college educated work force from persons whose initial work perceptions are shaped by schools.

Second, few persons in business and only slightly more in education have systematically thought about the parallels in the job requirements of teaching and the job requirements of first line supervisors in industry. However, as Berliner's (1982) notion of the teacher as executive indicates, the parallels are real and striking. For example, first line supervisors must deal with a work force of widely varying ability and widely varying commitment to work. They must set goals and tasks for a large number of persons, provide instruction to those persons for performing the most efficiently and effectively in those tasks, evaluate both the process and product of the work, provide

effective feedback, and motivate performance. Thus, implicitly, learning to teach effectively requires one to learn many of the same things one needs to know to manage production oriented groups of persons in other setting as well. Though it is recognized that there are differences between managing an assemblage of adult workers and managing a classroom, there are many parallels. This being the case, public school teaching could be viewed as a "natural" training ground not only for teachers but for future managers and executives. Implicitly, this is already the case. Making the case explicit might serve to improve the training of teachers as well as encourage business and industry to support the creation of healthy organizational environments in which maintenance is considered as legitimate as change and improvement.

Finally, as American business becomes more atuned to the requirements of managing professionals, there is a growing awareness of the need to nurture employees as well as to supervise them. If public school personnel are astute, they can capitalize on this emerging condition to gain political support for more attention to maintenance in schools, For example, books like Peters and Waterman's In Search of Excellence (1982) provide a strong argument for the idea that maintenance and change are integrally interrelated in American business. Such arguments could serve educators well and should be addressed.

There are, of course, those who would suggest that what is proposed here avoids some fundamental issues and would, perhaps, cause problems. For example, what is proposed assumes that a relatively high turnover rate is not an undesirable circumstance. We think it is not. What we think is critical is that teachers who stay in teaching have

vital sources of renewal and maintenance and that those who are new to the system have access to models and exemplars that will assure excellence in the schools and classrooms.[3]

Legitimizing Change

Throughout this report, it has been indicated that the way staff development is embedded in school systems decreases the likelihood that staff development will serve as a proactive force in the initiation of change. Indeed, in most of the situations studied and observed, it was found that staff development either served as a maintenance function or it served as a response mechanism in support of change that was initiated from some other source. When the school system adopted a policy of requiring the implementation of a reading management system, the staff development system responded to this policy by developing a training program to develop the skills the implementation of this policy seemed to require. Thus, it seems that, for the most part, change is legitimized by mandates and policies emanating from outside the staff development system and the staff development system primarily serves as an adaptive mechanism in support of these mandated changes.

In the course of our study and observation, however, we did get fleeting glimpses and images of other ways in which staff development related to the change process. These glimpses and images suggest, we

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[3]This point is obviously a controversial one. However, it is only indirectly related to the purpose of the present report. For the reader who is concerned about the matter, a more detailed discussion of the issues of high turnover and stability can be found in other discussions (e.g., Schlechty and Vance, 1983).

think, some possible ways in which staff development could serve as an initiator of change as well as a responder to the change process. In order to give meaning to this discussion, it will first be necessary to discuss the aforementioned sources of legitimacy for the change process. Those sources are legal mandates, model and exemplars, and research and theory. With regard to the first source of legitimacy (i.e., mandates), it is important to understand that such mandates can emanate from a variety of sources. For example, P.L. 94-142 is a mandate that emanates from the federal level. Some mandates emanate from a state level, others from school board policy, others from system level administrators and still others emanate from building principals. It appears that the question of if, whether, and how the staff development system is likely to respond to such mandates depends on if, whether, and how the intentions of these mandates become incorporated into the system of personnel evaluation that operates within the school unit. Put simply and directly, if those with evaluative authority in the school take the mandates into account in their evaluations, the likelihood that the staff development system will make a systematic response is increased. The fact that the reading management system emanated from a system level mandate and the fact that system level evaluators took this mandate into account in their evaluations resulted in a multi-faceted response to this mandate. The case of the TRICA program reported by Joslin and Whitford was somewhat different. Since this program did not proceed from a clear system level mandate, one of the determining factors of whether the staff development system would make a systematic response seemed to be the degree to which building level evaluation systems took the

expectations of the TRICA program into account. In those buildings where the expectations of the TRICA program were not taken into account in the evaluation system, there was a less systematic staff development response.

With regard to models and exemplars, it is important to understand that much that occurs in the name of staff development in schools, at least in the school system studied here, is based on models and exemplars. For example, the designers of the TRICA program argue that the program is based on research and theory, and that this is the case is not disputed. However, the success or lack of success of this program varied from building to building, at least in part, because of different responses faculty and administrators had to the believability and personalities of the designers and trainers. Thus, it seems that staff development programs and activities that depend on models and exemplars to legitimize the changes advocated are very dependent upon personalistic variables (e.g., Has the trainer had real experience in the classroom? Is the trainer respected by the trainees? Is the trainer charismatic?) and also dependent on prior networks and working relationships. For example, when system level personnel try to import new models and exemplars for teaching practice, they seem to rely heavily on initiating action with people who knew them before and whom they believe trust them in their judgment about what is good.

For staff developers who see themselves as agents of change, the use of models and exemplars has considerable advantage. For example, system level and building level persons who have some degree of autonomy and discretion in the use of staff development resources (e.g., consulting money, money to purchase materials) are in a position to

initiate change by selecting and supporting models and exemplars they value or perceive to be worthy of emulation. Furthermore, to the extent that the models and exemplars they choose are persuasive to those with evaluative authority (e. g., building principals, intermediate level administrators), they may eventually be able to co-opt this evaluative authority in a way that provides mandated support for their preferred model. The TRICA program is an illustration of the use of such a strategy. However, the TRICA program also illustrates the vulnerabilities of the model and exemplar approach. First, models and exemplars, if they are to be effective, depend upon sustained interaction between those persons and organizational units that are to be changed and the models or exemplary case. In the initial stages of proceeding without a legal mandate, the change oriented staff developers find themselves highly dependent upon their ability to call on loyalties built in prior interactions with trainees and/or on extrinsic rewards (e.g., stipends) to induce persons to interact with the model or exemplar for a sufficient amount of time to become loyal or committed to it, him, or her. Thus, the history and system biography of the sponsor or sponsors of a model or exemplar become a critical determinant of the effectiveness with which the model or exemplar will be embraced.

Research and theory as a legitimizing basis for change in schools has in the past suffered from all the difficulties that have been mentioned for models and exemplars. The reason that this is so should be obvious. For the most part, the extent to which research and theory are transported into a school as a legitimizing base for change, research and theory is likely to be embodied in a model or exemplar.

For example, one staff development activity was observed that was consciously based, or purported to be based, on systematic analysis of learning theory. Thus, in the abstract at least, the targets of the training were expected to embrace the procedures suggested because they were justified and legitimized by "science". The interesting fact, however was (and is) that when the person who codified this body of knowledge made presentations about it or gave demonstrations based on it, participants were generally enthusiastic and supportive. However, when those he/she trained made similar presentations to different audiences, the enthusiasm was substantially less and the evaluations lower. As one participant put the matter, "When X tells it, I believe it, but somehow when others try to say the same thing it's not as convincing." Thus, the personal characteristics of the conveyer of supposed research knowledge seem to affect the believability of the research itself. This leads one to wonder whether persons who believe the research or believe in the exemplar who conveys the research.

In our view, if research and theory are to serve as a legitimizing base for change or improvement in practice, some mechanism must be found to make it less dependent on the personal qualities of those who convey the meaning of the research. The final section in this chapter will provide some suggestions as to how this might be done.

Schools As Research, Development and Training Organizations

Throughout this report we have commented on the dubious legitimacy of teacher training in the context of schools. If teacher training is a dubious enterprise as a legitimate function of schools, research

and development is even more dubious. The fact is that few persons in schools see the conduct of research as a part of their role and only slightly more see their role involving the creation of new products based on research. It is our view that until all three of these conditions are changed (i.e., research, development, and teacher training are viewed as legitimate functions of schools), there is little likelihood that research and theory will ever inform practice in any systematic way. Put differently, until the roles of teachers and administrators are redefined and until this redefinition includes a systematic induction of teachers into research and development roles as well as into teaching roles, teachers are unlikely to value research and researchers are unlikely to engage in activities that teachers value. This being the case, the persistent split between theory and practice will continue in the future. What is being suggested is that for staff development to serve as a catalyst for change, and for research to serve as a legitimizing basis for staff development, there needs to be a fundamental restructuring of schools, of teacher education and of the teaching occupation.

One of the results of the research project reported here was that the university based principal investigator was invited by the Superintendent to chair a committee charged with the task of developing a coherent set of recommendations regarding the way staff development, teacher evaluation and reward structures might be created to overcome some of the difficulties that had been identified. It would be misleading to say that the research project reported here was the only or even the primary cause of this initiative, but knowledge of our research findings throughout the system certainly contributed to the initiative. Furthermore, as the reader will readily see, many of the

recommendations that have been made, grew directly out of the insights that were developed in the present research effort. Specifically, in September of 1981, the Superintendent asked the co-principal investigator to chair a committee to study merit pay and to make recommendations to him regarding how the school system should respond to public pressure to institute merit pay in the system. After several months of diligent study including review of numerous preliminary documents produced as a result of this project, the committee arrived at the conclusion that merit pay was not a solution to the problems that had been identified, but that the problems to which merit pay was addressed were persistent and should be systematically attended to. Subsequently, the Superintendent asked the committee to "try their hand" at developing some recommendations as to how these problems might be addressed. On June 3, 1982, a report (see Appendix E) was submitted to the Superintendent. In essence, this report calls for the creation of a pattern of differentiated staffing that gives emphasis to teachers assuming increasing responsibility for teacher training and research and development activity. Subsequent to the submission of this report, the Superintendent asked the co-principal investigator to prepare a more detailed document indicating how the recommendations of the committee might be more fully developed for implementation. (This document is presented in Appendix F.) On September 28, 1982, the school board, after three months of study and discussion, authorized the Superintendent to develop a detailed plan to implement the committee's recommendations. At the point of this writing, the co-principal investigator has been assigned responsibility for heading this planning effort. Funds to support

planning are being provided from local school sources and from university sources. Presently, additional supplemental funds from private foundations and public agencies are being sought. There is, of course, no way of knowing at the present time how far this school system will be able to go toward the implementation of these recommendations. However, we believe that anyone who reads this report and studies Appendices E and F will appreciate the fact that this collaborative research effort has produced a condition in which theory can inform practice.[1]

We do not propose that the recommendations contained in the reports referred to above (Appendices E and F) are the only practical implications of this research project. Neither do we suggest that this research project was the only factor that led to these recommendations. However, we are convinced that without the knowledge and insights gained in this collaborative effort and without the collaborative style that was represented in this research project, the recommendations would not have been framed as they have been framed, and they certainly would not have gained the endorsement they have gained.[2]

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[1] In writing this report, we have been compelled to excise much material that might be of interest to the reader. One of the items that has not been included is a detailed description of the mode of collaboration that was employed. For the reader who is interested in this matter, it is recommended that he/she refer to Schlechty and Noblit (1982).

[2] It is worthy of note that the committee that made the recommendations was unanimous in its support of the report. This committee was broad based and included community leaders, business leaders, a school board member, the local presidents of the AFT, the local affiliate of the NEA as well as the president of the local teachers organization and the chairperson of a system-wide elected Teacher Advisory Council. Furthermore, as the documents contained in Appendix G indicate, at this time the report of the committee also has substantial support in the local press as well.

We hope that the readers of this report will find much that is applicable to their situations. If, however, they do not, we would still contend that the time and effort spent on this project has been worthwhile, for it has served as a catalytic agent to cause a large urban school system and a school of education of a major university to work together cooperatively and collaboratively in solving some problems that both must solve if either is to survive!

APPENDIX A

Initial Research Questions

I. Organizational Context (Coordination System)

A. Organizational Set

1. What are the names of the organizations and organizational subunits that are officially involved in or have responsibility for performance of program tasks?
2. Who decided that the organizations and/or organizational subunits named above should be involved in or should have responsibility for performance of program tasks?
3. What explanations do the decision-makers have for involving the organizations or organizational subunits or for assigning them responsibilities in the program?

B. Resource Adequacy

1. What resources are needed by the program?
2. What resources are allocated to the program?

C. Structural Lag

1. Are the resources allocated to the program adequate to meet needs?
2. If resources are not adequate, was there a time when the needed resources were allocated to the program?
3. How long has the program been in operation?
4. Is it reasonable to think that needed resources will be allocated in the future? If so, when?

D. Maintenance Cost

1. How much money and staff and program decision-makers' time is spent on program tasks?
2. How is the time and money distributed between instructional activities and non-instructional activities?

E. Standardization

1. What proportion of program tasks assigned to participants are common to all participants?
2. Are common evaluative criteria applied to all participants?
3. Are program tasks performed in a common place? At a common time?

F. Formalization of Criteria for Staffing

1. Are there written criteria for staffing?

G. Staff Specialization

1. Do formal (written) and informal (not written but understood by program decision-makers) criteria include expectations that staff have evidence of non-routine preparation in the content area of the program, e.g., advanced degrees, special certification?
2. Are special types of experiences included in critera for staffing, e.g., workshop experience?
3. How detailed are the criteria for staffing?

H. Internal Staff Supply

1. How many persons with necessary qualifications to fill staff positions are known by program decision-makers to be available in CMS?

2. How many persons with necessary qualifications exist in CMS but are not known to program decision-makers?
3. How do available qualified staff members come to be known to program decision-makers?

I. External Staff Supply

1. How many persons with necessary qualifications to fill staff positions are known by program decision-makers to be available outside CMS?
2. How many persons with necessary qualifications exist outside CMS and are reasonably accessible but are not known to program decision-makers?
3. How do qualified staff come to be known to program decision-makers?

Organizational Context (Power and Authority System)

A. Levels of Authority

1. What are the names of the program decision-makers and what offices do they occupy?
2. Relative to each other, how much authority do these persons have within the school system (e.g., two area superintendents = one level of authority)?

B. Authority Distribution

1. What are the names and occupational positions of people who exercise authority over the programs?
2. Relative to each other, how much authority do each of these people have over the development, operation and maintenance of of the program?

3. What is the distribution of authority among components of the organizational set, especially between CMS and others in the organizational set?

C. Informal Control

1. Who, outside of those in authority, is able to influence development, operation and/or maintenance of the program?
2. What positions do these people occupy vis-a-vis the organizational set?
3. What is the source of the influence?
4. Toward what persons or offices in the authority structure is the influence directed?

D. Functional Automony and Dependence

1. Who has authority to review changes?
2. Who has authority to initiate changes in program content, format, and evaluation procedures?
3. What positions do these people occupy vis-a-vis the program?
4. What happens when program changes are recommended by program staff but not approved by other program decision-makers?
5. What happens when program decision-makers make recommendations that are not concurred in by program staff?

Organizational Context (Boundary System)

A. Source of Initiation

1. Why was the program started, e.g., teacher request, needs assessment, govermental mandate?
2. Who or what office is the primary sponsor of the program?
3. Who was involved in planning the program?

B. Source of Legal Control

1. What are the guidelines under which the program operates and who or what office promulgated these guidelines?
2. Who or what office is responsible for seeing that the guidelines are conformed with?
3. Whose judgment would be most important in making decisions about changes in the program?

C. Volunteerism

1. Is participation required by policy or those with evaluative authority over participants?

D. Degree of Participant Control

1. Do participants participate in planning instructional activities and/or delivery of instructional content?
2. How important do participants perceive their input to be?
3. Is participant involvement a matter of policy or is it up to the general volition of the staff?
4. Who establishes evaluation criteria and performance expectations? Do participants have input on these matters?

E. Source of Finance and Support

1. Who has authority to initiate requests for funds, personnel and/or materials for a program?
2. What is/are the organizational source(s) of these resources?
3. Are any other programs' resources reduced as a result of allocation of resources to the program in question?

F. Type of Support (by source)

1. What proportion of support for this program is initially allocated in each of the following categories: (a) designated budget lines, (b) assigned personnel time, (c) in-kind material resources?

G. Boundary Extensiveness

1. Are there persons or agencies outside the organizational set and outside the informal influence network with whom participants or staff communicate regarding the program? (e.g., national conferences, one-time consultants, letters, etc.)

H. Program Pervasiveness

1. Are participants and staff relieved from other duties to carry out program tasks?
2. When confronted with a choice between allocating resources to this program or to other programs, how frequently are decisions favorable to this program made?
3. How frequently do such choices arise?

I. Locus of Evaluative Authority

1. What are the names of and the offices occupied by those with evaluative authority over program and participants?
2. In case of contradictory evaluations, which person's(s') judgment(s) prevail(s)?

J. Adaptability

1. In the past, have the goals, content and procedures of the program changed in noticeable ways?
2. How do program decision-makers, staff, and participants account for the change that has occurred?

3. What is the source of pressure for the change?

K. Rationality

1. When program decision-makers explain decisions about the program, what basis do they articulate to justify or explain their actions?

Organizational Context (Direction System)

A. Competing Loyalties

1. Relative to other job-related commitments, do staff perceive their activity in this program as a high priority item?
2. Relative to other job-related commitments, do decision-makers view the program as high priority?
3. Do participants view expectations of the program as consistent with other job-related expectations?

B. Goal Consensus

1. What do program decision-makers, staff, and participants say the goals of the program are?

C. Goal Clarity

1. Given the goals articulated by program decision-makers, what do staff and participants attach to the goal statements?

D. Goal Displacement

1. What proportion of program tasks is directly related to pursuit of official goals?

Organizational Context (Program Status)

A. Status Enhancement

1. Is there an expectation that participation in the program will change officially recognized responsibilities?

B. Prestige Enhancement

1. Do non-participants perceive that participation in the program is deserving of special recognition and honor?

C. Staff Prestige

1. Relative to other persons, how are staff viewed by participants regarding their competence in the area of concern of the program?

D. Visibility

1. What proportion of non-participant school system members are aware of the existence of the program?
2. What proportion of non-participant school system members have detailed knowledge about the nature of the program?

E. Permanence

1. Is the program thought of by program decision-makers as on-going or short term?
2. If the program is not on-going, what is its length?

II. Social Process (Knowledge Transmission Systems)

A. Knowledge Types

1. What kinds of norms do staff emphasize in instructional activities?
2. In responding to instructional activities, what kinds of norms do participants emphasize?

B. Knowledge Source

1. What basis do staff use to explain the selection of content of instructional activities for the program?

2. What justification do staff give to participants for the selection of content of instructional activities?
3. What justification mode is used by the author of the "technique and practice" oriented literature assigned to participants?

C. Technology Employed

1. What types of activities are participants expected to engage in, e.g., listen to lectures, read, observe, create materials, demonstrate techniques, etc.?

D. Stability of Knowledge

1. How certain are staff regarding the "correctness" of the knowledge they are attempting to transmit?
2. How certain are participants regarding the "correctness" of the knowledge the staff is transmitting?
3. If participants are uncertain, is the uncertainty expressed in terms of lack of understanding of the knowledge or lack of belief in the knowledge?
4. If staff are uncertain, do they express their uncertainty in terms of the lack of predictability of the phenomenon being addressed, incomplete understanding of the phenomenon or their own inadequacies concerning the knowledge?

E. Performance Visibility

1. Do staff members demonstrate performances expected of participants with participants observing?
2. Where do these demonstrations take place?
3. Do participants demonstrate performances expected of them with staff, other participants, and others watching?

4. Where do these demonstrations occur?

5. How frequent are these demonstrations?

F. Extensiveness of Performance Related Communication

1. How often do staff and participants talk about observed performances?

2. What is the content of these conversations?

G. Language Type and Function

1. What is the content of conversations between and among staff and participants concerning instructional activities?

H. Social Distance of Those Who Transmit Knowledge and Expectations

1. Do participants perceive those who carry out instructional responsibilities as peers, subordinates, or superordinates?

2. Relative to themselves, how far removed do participants view those with instructional responsibility regarding prestige and honor?

3. In terms of personal affect, how close (e.g., friend, acquaintance, stranger) do participants feel to those with instructional responsibilities?

I. Shared Ordeals

1. Are group assignments given?

2. Are the group assignments of such a nature that they require group members to do different things or the same things to accomplish a common goal?

3. Is a common basis of evaluation used for group products?

4. What proportion of cooperative action of participants is recognized and officially condoned (or any combination of recognition and condoning)?

5. Do staff members intend to foster cooperative action among participants?

J. Cohort Identity

1. Do participants place higher value on the relationship they have with other participants than they do with non-participant school system members?
2. Do participants interact with each other in non-program settings more than they interact with non-participant school system members?
3. Are there special symbols, signs, or names associated with the program that participants use to identify themselves?

K. Success Acknowledgement

1. Is successful completion of program tasks accompanied by symbolic forms of recognition, e.g., diploma, letters of recommendation, etc.?
2. Are remunerative or status rewards directly connected to completion of program tasks?
3. How much emphasis is given to symbolic and remunerative forms of recognition by officials in CMS?

Social Process (Evaluation and Enforcement System)

A. Magnitude of Rewards

1. How much value do participants give to various rewards and punishments associated with program participation?

B. Consistency of Enforcement

1. Do all those who have evaluative authority over participants incorporate program expectations into their criteria for evaluation of participants?

2. Do all those with evaluative authority over participants regularly apply program related evaluation criteria for participants?

C. Source of Authority for Evaluation

1. How do evaluators in the program and/or on the job explain or justify evaluations they make of participants' performance to participants and to others?

2. How do participants explain the evaluations?

D. Perceived Validity of Evaluation

1. Do participants perceive that evaluations made of their program-related performances are warranted?

Social Process (Recruitment and Selection System)

A. Program Size

1. How many persons was the program designed to accomodate?

B. Program Size Constraints

1. Who established the size limits for the program?

2. How do program decision-makers explain the size limits?

C. Presence of Criteria for Participation

1. What are the criteria, written or unwritten, that program decision-makers have for admission to or exclusion from the program?

2. To what areas do these criteria refer, e.g., subject matter, grade level, etc.?

D. Importance of Criteria for Participation

1. Relative to each other, how much importance is attached to each criterion for admission by program decision-makers? By participants?

E. Specificity of Criteria

1. How many distinct criteria are acknowledged by program decision-makers?

2. How subject is each criterion to multiply interpretation?

F. Awarness of Criteria

1. What do staff, participants, and program decision-makers say the criteria for admission are?

G. Cynical Knowledge Regarding Selection Criteria

1. Do participants, staff, program decision-makers, and non-participant school system members believe the official criteria for selection, as they understand the criteria, are actually used in selection of participants or do they believe there is intentional violation of the criteria?

H. Participant Availability

1. How many participants is the program designed to accomodate?

2. How many people applied to participate in the program?

I. Selectivity

1. How many people who applied for admission were excluded because program decision-makers perceived they did not meet stated criteria for admission?

J. Competitiveness

1. How many persons that program decision-makers perceived to meet admission criteria were excluded from the program because of program size constraints?

K. Source of Motivation to Participate

1. What reasons do participants give for participation in the program?
2. What relative importance do participants attach to each reason?
3. What are the reasons staff and program decision-makers give for participants becoming involved in the program?
4. What relative importance do staff and program decision-makers attach to each reason?

L. Type of Admission

1. How much variability is there in the point in time at which each participant was admitted to the program?

APPENDIX B

Program Selection Criteria

On October 11 and 12, 1979, meetings of the project staff were held as planned in Charlotte, North Carolina. On the first day of meetings, the nature of the project was reviewed. This review included extensive discussions on the intentions and goals of the project, a progress report on work done to date, and a thorough exploration of the role responsibilities of each staff member.

On October 12, the staff met again to select a set of programs for inclusion in the project. Below are excerpts from the proposal stating the program selection criteria which guided this process:

> . . . we define staff development as any training program, instructional sequence, or set of experiences aimed at professional staff (i.e., teachers, administrators, or specialists) which is officially sponsored by the school system, or subunit thereof, and whose purpose is the development or maintenance of knowledge, skills, and attitudes that are officially held as appropriate to the attainment of the goals of the school system. This definition excludes programs, courses, and experiences that individuals might pursue as a part of their professional growth or personal renewal. It also excludes those experiences that contribute to the capacity of staff members to respond to the needs of clients, but which are not officially sponsored or recognized by the system as staff development activities.
>
> We will further limit our attention in this study to staff development programs. By programs, we mean a connected sequence of activities of sufficient duration to take on a public identity (e.g., a regular meeting place or time, an identifiable cohort of participants, an identifiable purpose or set of tasks, etc.).
>
> Finally, we will not concern ourselves with any staff development program or activity which is not pursuing some positive action during the spring semester of 1980. (proposal, pp. 6-7)

The intentions of this project provide us with some clear indications of the kinds of staff development programs that should be included in our study.

A. Programs should reflect considerable variety, especially in terms of source of initiation (central office, sub-district, building level), target population (teachers, administrators), and content (skills, knowledge acquisition, attitude formation).

B. Programs should vary in terms of the extent to which they are specifically targeted toward issues of equity. For example, some of the programs should be explicitly aimed at improving the performances of minority children or giving minorities greater access to educational opportunities, some should be tangentially directed toward minorities (e.g., reading in the content areas) and others should be general in nature (e.g., programs dealing with teaching strategies in social studies, science, etc.).

C. Programs should vary in length and intensity (e.g., short-term workshops, long-term courses) and should reflect maximum variety in terms of source of instructional input.

D. Data related to programs (including opportunities for observations and interviews) should be readily accessible.

E. Finally, the number of programs should be sufficiently great to provide maximum variance on the dimensions of concern, but sufficiently limited to assure that the qualitative data we get about each program has quality, for we are more concerned with the intensive study of a few programs than with the extensive study of many programs. Thus, the resources available to use and the size and complexity of the programs included in our final population will largely determine the absolute number of programs we will study. We estimate that the number will be between 10 and 20. (proposal, p. 29)

The criteria for program selection can be summarized as follows:

1. Individual programs must be aimed at professional staff, sponsored by the school system, and have content that is consistent with the goals of the school system.

2. As a group, programs must reflect as much variety as possible on such characteristics as source of initiation, target population, content, degree to which equity issues are addressed, length, intensity, and source of instructional input.
3. Activities studies must have public identity as programs. Exclusions are activities pursued by individuals on their own and activities that are not approved by the system.

After intensive staff discussions of the programs available for selection and of the selection criteria, twelve programs were chosen for study. All of the programs are aimed at professional staff, are sponsored by the school system and have content consistent with the system's goals. Each activity meets the proposal's definition of program and none violates the exceptions. As a group, the programs selected also reflect considerable variety. The necessity of choosing a set of programs which, as a group, will have as much variety as possible was the primary factor affecting selection.

The programs selected for study are:

1. Incentive Pay program
2. Desegregation Center Program
3. Citizenship Education Program
4. Summer School Preparatory Program
5. Motivation and Management
6. New Teachers Workshop
7. Employee Assistance Program
8. Temple University Bilingual Program

9. Teaching Reading in the Content Area (TRICA)
10. Oaklawn Program
11. Leadership Program
12. School Law for Administrators

APPENDIX C

Description of Programs Studied

The following descriptions have been compiled from documents on staff development activities.

1. Incentive Pay Program

Any employee who is paid on the teachers' salary scale and who does not spend a majority of his/her time on administrative duties is eligible to participate in the Incentive Pay Program (IPP). An individual teacher's plan of study is developed in consultation with several organizational superordinates. Each plan contains specific units of credit in five predetermined categories. Upon completion of the required total of 15 approved incentive pay units, a teacher is eligible for a salary increment. The program has been in effect in Charlotte-Mecklenburg since July 1, 1978.

Because of the scope and complexity of the program (e.g., it applies to all teachers, it involves multiple agencies and levels of authority, it has a number of specific criteria for approved activities, etc.), it will likely provide an interesting comparative base from which to study program differences.

2. Desegregation Center Program

This program is directed toward only one of the eight sub-districts in the system, the Independence Area. It is designed to directly address equity and is aimed at teachers and parents. Its length and credit status are unknown at this time since the program is still being developed. The Desegregation Center in Hillsborough, North Carolina, will have instructional input.

3. Citizenship Education Program

This is a Title IV-C program in secondary social studies. It is specific to one content area at one level of instruction, 10-12 social studies. The North Carolina State Department of Public Instruction conducts workshops as a part of the program (seven workshops between October and April).

4. Summer School Preparatory Program

Beginning in the school year 1979-80, a mandatory retention, promotion and placement policy will go into effect. In compliance with the new policy during the summer of 1980, a tuition-free summer school will be available to all students who are to be retained at the third, sixth, and ninth grade levels as a result of their California Achievement Test scores. The Summer School Preparatory Program, still being developed, is for teachers of summer school for students who may be retained as a result of the new policy. Training in the workshop will focus on the use of small groups to teach reading and math skills.

5. Motivation and Management

This program is designed for all 4-9 teachers, counselors, and administrators. Its purpose is to provide information about motivation for use at those grade levels and to look at factors which influence classroom management by learning techniques for motivating students. The source of instructional input is the staff of the Drug Education Center. It is a credit program (renewal and IPP) and is of set length (February-April).

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6. New Teachers Workshop

This program is designed for new teachers, both those new to teaching and those new to the Charlotte-Mecklenburg system. It is conducted by the Teaching and Learning Center housed at the Staff Development Center.

7. Employee Assistance Program

Unlike most other staff development programs, the Employee Assistance Program is specifically designed to help any employee meet personal needs. According to official policy 4147, "Behavioral/medical problems, emotional disturbances, family problems and stresses will be regarded as health problems which can be successfully treated." The Staff Development News (April, 1979) states that employee rights of privacy and confidentiality are assured and that participation in the program "will not jeopardize an employee's job security or promotional opportunities" (p.3). Of the approximately 150 employees who used the service during the 1978-79 school year, 67% sought help regarding job related concerns, 20% sought help with family problems and 10% were concerned with personal problems.

This program covers an area of staff development that is not traditionally addressed. It employs the services of a variety of outside agencies, directly confronts system management of confidentiality, is available to all employees of the system, but offers no credit in terms of certificate renewal, incentive pay or university course credit. If we find that participants' rights of privacy prevent collection of the necessary data, we will exclude this program from the project. We do not anticipate that confidentiality will be a problem since we have

taken that into account in the data collection procedures (see proposal p. 39) and because we are more concerned with structural and group properties than with individual characteristics. We do, however, want to assure the reader that we are aware of and concerned about confidentiality and rights of privacy issues.

8. Temple Bilingual Program

This program is available to all K-12 ESL teachers. Participants will develop curriculum, use the developed materials in the classroom, evaluate and modify the curriculum and submit it in final form for system-wide usage. The program directly addresses equity as it relates to teachers of students whose primary language is not English. The program provides credit to participants, is 18 hours in length and is directed by a bilingual training specialist from Temple University.

9. Oaklawn School Reading Program

This program is unusual in that it has been developed at the initiation of one school and involves only the Title I lab teachers and 4-6 teachers at that school. The teachers will develop a model for teaching reading as a practice throughout all content areas. It is of set length (October-April) and is a credit program involving 32 hours of inservice time.

10. Teaching Reading in the Content Area (TRICA)

This program is provided through ESEA funding for junior high teachers system-wide. Its focus is reading in the content area, it is of set length and is a credit program.

11. Leadership Program

There are 900 employees in the Charlotte-Mecklenburg system who

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hold principal's certification. Recently, there were 42 applicants for one administrative position. In the next ten years, approximately half of the school administrators will reach retirement age. In response to these conditions, this program has been developed to plan for the training, recruitment, and selection of the best qualified individuals into administration.

12. School Law for Administrators

This program is the only program that is exclusively for administrators, including central office staff. It is provided by Wingate College and is of set length.

As was stated above, the primary factor affecting selection of programs was the desire for variety. The programs chosen differ widely from each other on a number of characteristics. For example, some are on-going and others are of set length. Some directly address equity issues, others do not. Some are targeted to general populations (e.g., all teachers, all employees), others are designed for specific groups, (e.g., high school social studies teachers, 4-6 teachers at one school, bilingual teachers).

It should be noted that this list of programs includes several that are still being developed as of this writing but are definitely scheduled for operation by the time data collection activities are to be underway. While we do not anticipate any specific problems, such as access, we will be able to substitute programs of a similar nature if problems do arise.

APPENDIX D

Criteria Used by Practioners in Reviewing Research Questions

1. What terms in the definition need to be clarified or further explained before the definition is understandable to you?
2. Given your present understanding of the construct, do you think the answers to the questions we have proposed will describe the differences suggested by the constructs? Do you think there are other questions that should be added? Should some be deleted? What is the justification for the addition or deletion?
3. Will the answers to the questions be different across the programs we have selected for study?
4. If the answers to the questions are different, do you think the differences are important to (a) how staff development programs operate, and (b) the effects staff development programs might have?
5. Given what you know of the operation of staff development programs in CMS and of staff development programs generally, is it possible to get answers to all of these questions? If so, what is the source of the answers, e.g., persons, offices, documents, etc.?

APPENDIX E

Recommendations for Improving the Career Opportunities of Teachers in The Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools: A Constructive Alternative to Merit Pay

Submitted to Dr. Jay Robinson, Superintendent
June 3, 1982

By:
Phillip Schlechty (Chairperson)

Royce Angel
Elizabeth Dargan
Calvin Davis
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Sarah Stevenson
Betty Thomas
Judy Trimble

The initial charge to this committee was to study the possibility of implementing a system of merit pay in the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools and to make recommendations to the Superintendent regarding this matter. In keeping with this charge, the committee reviewed numerous documents, research reports and position papers related to merit pay. Based on this study the committee concluded that there is no existing system of merit pay that will work in schools. Furthermore, the committee found that teachers generally so distrusted the idea of merit pay that any effort to install a merit pay would likely do more harm than good. In a letter dated December 4, 1981, the chairman of the merit pay committee informed the Superintendent of the committee's views. The following excerpts from this letter indicate the sentiment of the committee as of December 1981:

1. There is no existing system of merit pay in schools that can provide a model for CMS. Indeed, there is more evidence to support the assertion that merit pay has had harmful and disruptive effects than that it has had positive effects.

2. In spite of these facts, there is strong evidence that some form of merit pay will be imposed on CMS and every other school system in the state in the near future.

3. If CMS is to escape the negative consequences that are likely to flow from such a state mandated program, the system has two options: a) prepare a strong statement, based upon available evidence against merit pay and resist the imposition with logic and political power, or b) endeavor to capture the momentum created by the present state-wide concern with teacher evaluation and merit pay to create a comprehensive system of incentives and evaluation that is logical and that would work if it were implemented.

4. The members of the committee have indicated that they will commit themselves to working on the latter task if they are assured that this is your intent. If, however, your intent is for us to review existing alternatives and make recommendations, our work is basically completed, for we see nothing in alternatives worth recommending. Furthermore, we do not believe that the alternatives that the state will provide

will be any better than those we have already reviewed.

The committee was particularly concerned that merit pay plans tend to implicitly punish the many by rewarding only a few. There was also concern that the basis of these rewards often becomes arbitrary and capricious. Given the public sentiment for merit pay, the committee was especially concerned that the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools might unintentionally become participants in all ill-advised effort that would have negative and punitive effects on teachers, many of whom already feel that they are not appreciated for doing so much, for so many, for so little.

The Superintendent accepted the committee's recommendation and asked the members to proceed to develop an evaluation, staffing and incentive plan that would promote continuing professional development and encourage outstanding performance among all professional employees. Furthermore, it was agreed that positive reward for quality service and fairness in evaluation should be the paramount values upon which the system would be based.

Given this new and expanded charge, the committee ceased viewing itself as a merit pay committee. Rather than merit pay, the committee became concerned with developing a comprehensive system of evaluation, staffing and rewards designed to systematically improve the over all quality of instruction in the school system. Thus, it should be understood that the committee is not recommending a merit pay plan. Rather, the committee is recommending a comprehensive system of evaluation, training and rewards that opens new possibilities for all professional employees.

Operating under the expanded charge indicated above, the committee took on the task of reviewing a body of literature that deals with the nature of the teaching occupation and with management practices employed in high technology organizations. There were several reasons this literature was reviewed. First, it was assumed there was a need to take into account those forces in the present environment which work against the systematic pursuit of goals of excellence in schools. Second, it was assumed that many of these forces were to be found in the way the teaching occupation is now structured and in the ways schools are now organized. For example, teacher representatives on the committee regularly acknowledged the need for more systematic performance evaluations of teachers. They also acknowledged that some teachers were more deserving of rewards than were others. Yet, regardless of the nature of the specific proposals that were advanced to deal with these issues, teachers and administrators felt that "the way things are now" the proposed solutions would never work. Discussions revealed that most of the things that blocked the pursuit of common goals had to do with the present pattern of organization in schools, the way roles are defined, and the way evaluations are conducted.

For example, even if principals have the technical capacity to systematically evaluate teacher performance (which many do not), there is no guarantee that principals will be objective in their evaluations. Furthermore, given the way schools are now organized it might be possible to evaluate teacher performance more systematically, but it is virtually impossible to evaluate the evaluations and/or the evaluator.

Discussions and observations such as these encouraged the committee

to take a new look at the entire problem. As one committee member stated, "It is clear that if we are to do anything, we have to approach the problem from the totally new perspective. We must overcome a hundred year tradition".

The Problem Defined

Having accepted the fact that it was fruitless to attempt to institute a system of merit pay without taking into account the organizational and occupational barriers that have made it ineffective in the past, the committee began working toward the following goals:

1. To develop a pattern of staffing and evaluation that is logically linked to a system of incentives and rewards in a way that encourages high quality performance and the effective pursuit of the instructional goals.
2. To link performance assessments and evaluations of goal achievement to opportunities for career advancement, job enrichment, and economic rewards.
3. To design a system of evaluation, rewards and career advancement that promises to overcome or offset the barriers that presently prohibit the development of a positive, growth-oriented system of performance evaluation.
4. To link rewards and incentives to the achievement of instructional goals in a way that encourages collegial approaches to problem solving, shared responsibility for establishing and maintaining high performance expectations and shared decision-making concerning the way goals should be pursued and evaluations conducted.

The development of these goals grew out of the committee's study

of the present conditions of teaching and the barriers created by those conditions. For example, one of the primary barriers to systematic performance evaluations is that teachers and administrators do not have a common language for describing and analyzing instructional performances and learning environments. Furthermore, such a language is not likely to develop so long as experienced teachers are isolated from each other and so long as inexperienced teachers are not systematically inducted into the role and performance expectations they are expected to engage in and uphold. Thus, it seemed essential that any effort to evaluate performance be linked to an effort to encourage shared decision-making and collegial approaches to problem identification and problem solving.

Similarly, performance evaluations that are not linked to positive rewards or to the potential of positive rewards are inherently punitive. Put directly, if positive evaluations are not used to enhance one's reputation or status, if positive evaluations are not used to make one eligible to accept new responsibilities and gain enriched job assignments, and if positive evaluations are not used to determine expanding career options, then the only evaluations that count are those that are negative. Unfortunately, the way schools are now organized, negative evaluations are the only evaluations that count since positive evaluations are not linked to any rewards that count.

A Proposed Solution

Having endorsed the goals stated above, the committee took on the task of conceptualizing a solution to the problems the goals suggested. The remainder of this report presents, in outline form,

this conceptualization.

Recommendation I: The Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools should adopt the four goals outlined above as long term staff goals for the system. It is the committee's view that the achievement of such goals would involve such fundamental changes in staffing patterns; salary structures, and systems of reward and evaluation that it would be unrealistic to expect such a plan to be fully implemented in less than ten years. Furthermore, successful achievement of these goals will require that staff presently employed in CMS develop new technical skills, especially in the areas of personnel evaluation, program evaluation, goal-setting, and management styles. Thus, short term solutions would be dysfunctional and probably lead to an aborted attempt at implementation.

Recommendation II: The Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools should make a clear distinction between career teachers and non-career teachers. This distinction should be supported by clearly discernible differences in rewards, status and responsibility. More specifically, it is recommended that to achieve career status in the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools one would first need to clearly demonstrate the capacity to engage in the types of performances in the classroom that are determined to be essential to effective teaching. In addition, it is expected that a career teacher would have demonstrated the capacity to improve his or her own performance and to support others in their efforts to improve performances. Finally, it is assumed that a career teacher would demonstrate the ability to pursue goals effectively and efficiently and to work cooperatively with other teachers in the pursuit of shared goals.

Recommendation III: The Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools should acknowledge that it is unreasonable to expect that all persons employed by the system will desire and/or be able to fulfull the expectations of the career teacher role.[1] Furthermore, it should be acknowledged that the number of career positions should be limited in such a way as to assure that achievement of this position clearly signifies a meaningful accomplishment. Finally, it should be acknowledged that those who occupy career positons have an obligation not only to maintain high quality performance in their own classrooms but also to a) work with non-career teachers in the development of performance capacities, b) work with other career teachers, non-career teachers and administrators in establishing goals and performance expectations and in developing systems to assure that these expectations are met, and c) participate in and/or help design and implement those forms of continuing education for themselves and others that maintain currency in the field.

Recommendation IV: The Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools should adopt the policy that all persons newly employed as teachers be designated

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[1] In this report the term career teacher is used in preference to terms like master teacher or lead teacher. The committee recognizes that the use of the term career teacher is likely to cause some confusion since the labels career teacher and tenured teacher are often used as synonyms. However, just as the term merit pay has negative connotations so do terms like master teacher (Who, after all, wants their child taught by a teacher who is not a master?). However, assuming that the recommendations of this committee are favorably received, careful considerations should be given to developing new titles for the positions described.

as provisional[2] teachers and that all provisional teachers should undergo systematic performance evaluations at least four times per year.

Recommendation V: A document should be developed in which the nature and form of the performance evaluation of provisional teachers is outlined.

Recommendation VI: Insofar as possible and professionally defensible, the performance evaluation system recommended above should be consistent with state evaluation procedures and the Quality Assurance Program.

Recommendation VII: The results of the performance evaluations of provisional teachers should serve as a basis for nominating individuals as candidates for career status.

Recommendation VIII: A person who fails to be recommended for career teacher candidacy by the end of the second year of employment in CMS will not be retained.

Recommendation IX: Persons who have advanced to career teacher candidate status should be assigned to a career teacher who will serve as a preceptor/mentor. The expectation is that the career teacher will assist the career teacher candidate in developing and refining those performance skills that must be developed in order to advance to career

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[2]The use of the term provisional teacher presents the same problem as the term career teacher. Conventional terminology suggests that a provisional teacher is a non-tenured teacher. In order to help the reader understand what the committee means by such terms as career teacher and provisional teacher, a series of definitions are presented in Appendix A. The reader is encouraged to consult this Appendix before proceeding with the remainder of this report.

status. It is expected, furthermore, that a part of the evaluation of the career teacher will be based on assessments of the career teacher's ability to work in this preceptorial role. It is not, however, recommended that career teachers assigned as preceptors participate in the summative evaluation of nominees since this would create an unhealthy, adversarial relationship.

Recommendation X: Those persons who demonstrate the performance capacities expected of provisional teachers and who evidence capacities for growth and development during the year after they have been nominated for candidacy should be extended the opportunity to advance to the status of career candidate. Furthermore, it is recommended that a document be developed which describes procedures for assessing the indicated potential growth.

Recommendation XI: A document should be developed in which the role of career teacher is defined. This document should include specifications of the skills, abilities and attitudes expected of an occupant of that role.

Furthermore, it is recommended that specific recommendations should be made regarding the form and content of training that would be required to produce these competencies and the ways in which the competencies should be assessed. In making these recommendations, it should be kept in mind that a career teacher must be a person with the capacities to 1) perform in outstanding ways in the classroom 2) assist others with their classroom performance and 3) engage in collegial approaches to problem identification and problem solving. It is critical that a career teacher have the capacity to engage in formative evaluations of 1) his or her own performance, 2) the

performance of others and 3) school programs. Based on these evaluations, a career teacher must be able to design and implement programs which address the problems identified.

Recommendation XII: The system should provide resources to support a full time internship for each person who has been recommended as a candidate for career status. This internship could be undertaken in the year subsequent to being appointed to candidate status. During this intern year, the candidate would be released from regular classroom teaching assignment and be assigned tasks that assure that the intern will gain experience at various levels in the system. The interest is that the candidate become aware of those personnel and resources that are available outside the building in which he/she is teaching and gain experience in working directly to assist other teachers. It is also expected that during this internship year the candidate will participate in a carefully designed training program intended to assure that the individual possesses the capacities expected of a career teacher.

Recommendation XIII: It is recommended that every career candidate who demonstrates a continued capacity for high quality performance be afforded the opportunity to undertake such an internship and that the internship be structured in such a way that it signifies a) that the occupant is being rewarded for meritorious service and b) that it is expected that the occupant will shortly advance to career status.

Recommendation XIV: Recognizing that many persons enter teaching who do not wish to engage in the activity outlined for career teachers,

recognizing that such persons may be capable of high quality performance in the classroom and recognizing that the school system as an employer has a right to expect long term employees to meet the obligations of a career teacher, it is recommended that persons who have arrived at the position of career candidate be permitted to continue teaching even if they opt not to accept the internship that is prerequisite to career status so long as they a) maintain a performance level that is equivalent to other career teacher candidates, b) actively and effectively participate in those forms of continuing education that are determined to be prerequisites to the competencies and skills of career teachers, and c) have not been employed in CMS for more than six years.[3]

It is recognized that there will be people who would like to be employed in CMS for more than six years who are capable of adequate, indeed perhaps superior individual performances in the classroom. It is also recognized that if these recommendations are followed, the services of some of these people will be lost to the system. However, the committee believes that losing the services of these people would be less damaging in the long run than would the stifling effects of blocking the career ladder by attending to the whims of persons who are not sufficiently motivated to pursue the more rigorous

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[3]It is recognized that present state law does not permit the implementation of this recommendation. The committee did attempt to reconcile its recommendations with state law but concluded that the problem was with the law not with the recommendations. Therefore, if these recommendations are to be implemented, some modification of or exception from state law, especially those dealing with the length of time required to gain tenure will be necessary. The procedure the committee has suggested is not without precedent, (e.g. the recommended procedures are very similar to procedures employed in universities.) Furthermore, it is not the committee's intention to abolish tenure. Rather, it is intended to make the granting of tenure a positive and meaningful reward.

expectations imposed on career teachers generally. Put simply, there is a point at which it should be either up or out.

Recommendation XV: It is recommended that no person be permitted to advance to career status who has not occupied the internship position described in Recommendation XII. Furthermore, it is recommended that evaluations to determine whether one is afforded career status should be based on assessment of a) performance, b) growth, and c) goal achievement.

Recommendation XVI: In support of Recommendation XV as well as subsequent recommendations, it is recommended that a document be developed in which are described the nature of goals to be used in the evaluation of personnel and programs, the way achievement of these goals will be assessed and the way rewards will be assigned. Furthermore, it is recommended that whatever economic rewards are associated with goal achievement, these rewards should be distributed both on an individual and a group basis. For example, school faculties might be assigned a goal and as a group be rewarded in terms of the degree to which they achieve that goal. Within the faculty, decisions might be made to differentiate rewards depending upon decisions regarding the relative contributions of individuals toward the achievement of that goal.

Recommendation XVII: The possibility of further differentiation between and among career teachers should be explored. The committee is generally of the view that most persons who arrive at career status will probably not wish to move beyond the expectations suggested above. Furthermore, few teachers (even career teachers)

would feel comfortable with engaging in summative evaluation of provisional teachers or nominees for career status. Yet, it seems clear that if a system of personnel evaluation is to be effective, many more persons will need to be involved in summative evaluations than is now the case. Thus, it is the consensus of the committee that it is reasonable to assume that at least some career teachers might need to take on the responsibility of summative evaluation of programs if not of people. Acceptance of such responsibility would require teachers to do many things that call for special skills and competencies which are not required if one limits attention exclusively to the problems of instructing children in one's own classroom. Similarly, given the emphasis on problem solving implicit in the design suggested here, it seems likely that some persons in teaching roles would be called on to take teaching assignments on a short term (e.g., one to two years) precisely because they had demonstrated an unusual capacity to deal with the kind of problems that had been identified in the school to which they had been assigned. The possession of the skills to engage in such trouble shooting and the willingness to undertake such tasks should be honored and rewarded.

Recommendation XVIII: A study of the present salary structure[4] and the present system of incentives associated with participation in

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[4]It is recognized that the local school system has little direct control over the state salary schedule. This fact places numerous constraints on possible patterns of financing. Indeed, in the early stages at least, it seems likely that the implementaiton of this program will depend upon the provision of new local monies and/or a reallocation in the way local funds are presently expended. It should also be recognized that requiring large numbers of teachers to commit themselves to the performance expectations embedded in this report will also require that those who meet expectations receive noticeably higher economic rewards.

staff development and continuing education (e.g., the Incentive Pay Program, monies spent to reward those with advanced degrees) should be conducted. This study should result in suggestions regarding how these resources might be better allocated to support the recommendations made above. In making these recommendations, the following guidelines are suggested:

1. The school system should support and reward only those forms of continuing education and staff development that are logically and/or empirically connected with the maintenance or development of performance capacities expected of career teachers and/or the support of those forms of continuing education that serve as attractive fringe benefits for new recurits.

   The rationale for the first dimension of this guideline is, perhaps, obvious. Schools should support those forms of continuing education that most clearly maintain or improve desired performance capacities. The rationale for the second aspect of this guideline is more subtle. However, it is the committee's view that the conscious use of continuing education activities can serve as a means of inducing persons who are in short supply (e.g., math and science teachers) to engage in short term service to schools in exchange for long term advantage in other occupations. For example, a beginning math teacher whose personal economic circumstances make the pursuit of graduate study impossible might look with favor on the acceptance of a teaching position if the acceptance of such a position were coupled with the possibility of pursuing an advanced degree in computer science.

Such an offer might be even more attractive if the school system acknowledged the legitimacy of an individual using benefits like these to gain access to long term employment outside the school setting. The fact is, that as things now stand, nearly 60% of those initially employed as teachers eventually take employment in other occupations. Under present circumstances, many view this as a problem. This committee believes that, with a little imagination, this problem could be turned into a genuine resource both for schools and for prospective employers in other segments of the economy. Put differently, it might be to the advantage of the school system to view the first few years of teaching as a means of producing competence which will eventually be "consumed" in both career teaching positions and in other occupations as well.

2. Salary goals should be set for career teachers so that a person who attains career status will have the potential of life time earnings equivalent to management personnel in high technology industries.

The key to this guideline of course is the word "potential". No business guarantees a new employee future earnings, but healthy businesses do guarantee those who demonstrate outstanding performance potential the opportunity to earn, over the course of their career, an amount roughly equivalent to that which could be earned in competitive organizations. It is the committee's view that the study of salary structures should take into account long term salary potential as well

as short term salary offers. Indeed, there are occupations that attract and retain an abundance of highly qualified persons who are willing to make short term salary sacrifices. For example, at the age at which beginning teachers draw their first pay check they are making considerably more money than are their peers who intend to be doctors or lawyers. However, at the age at which an experienced teacher is making as much as a teacher can make, doctors and lawyers are earning considerably more.

3. Continuing education and staff development should not be viewed as an end in themselves or something to be rewarded in their own right. Rather, performance and goal achievement should serve as the basis of rewards, and continuing education and staff development should be viewed as the means of developing the skills to produce these performances. In effect, it is suggested that persons be paid for what they do and what they achieve rather than for the degrees they can accumulate and the certificates they can acquire.

Recommendation XIX: The school system should resist any effort to implement the preceding recommendations on a piecemeal basis since the successful implementation of one recommendation is dependent on the successful implementation of all the others. Furthermore, decisions regarding the implementation of these recommendations should be consistently informed by the effects they have on the productivity of students and the ability of the school system to achieve goals.

Recommendation XX: To assure that the above recommendations are acted on in a systematic and coordinated fashion, a steering committee should be established that is representative of the various groups and constituencies that will be affected by the implementation of these recommendations. This steering committee should have sufficient staff and financial resources to assure that the planning and implementation tasks outlined above can be effectively carried out. This committee should also be empowered to create whatever other study groups and subcommittees seem appropriate in order to carry out the tasks assigned.

Implementation

Assuming that the above recommendations are endorsed by the Superintendent and by the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education it is clear that much more work must be done prior to implementation. For example, contained in these recommendations are suggestions regarding a variety of documents that would need to be developed and studies that would need to be done. In addition, a great deal of planning would need to occur before the first active move to implement this program should be initiated. Finally, given the comprehensive nature of these recommendations, it would be essential that planning activity and subsequent implementation be carefully coordinated with other initiatives underway in the school system.

This committee is not in a position to make specific recommendations regarding how this planning should occur or to specify time lines regarding the planning and implementation sequence. However, careful thought has been given to the kinds of problems the implementation of the recommendations might present and some general

conclusions have been formed regarding guidelines by which the planning and implementation process should proceed. These guidelines are:

1. The implementation of these recommendations should be approached on a long term basis. The intent would be to create an alternative system that would eventually replace the existing system. It would be ill-advised to impose this alternative system on present employees. For a time (5-10 years), therefore, it would be necessary to partially maintain the existing system while creating the conditions that would lead to the replacement of that system by the system recommended.
2. The rewards and incentives attached to the system recommended here should be more attractive than the rewards and incentives attached to the existing system. However, the job requirements and performance expectations will be more demanding and substantially different from those that presently exists. Consequently, there may be many present employees who wish to become a part of the system recommended here, and many others who would find this system unattractive. It is the committee's view that present employees should be given the option of participating in the new system if they are willing and able to meet the performance requirements of that system. However, persons employed in the existing system should be allowed to continue to the present system if they choose to do so with the understanding that while they will not lose what they now have the rewards will not be as great as rewards associated with the new system.

3. Given the comprehensive nature of the recommendations made here, it is essential that teacher leaders and top level management in the school system be made fully aware of the long term directions that the implementation of these recommendations would set. It is also essential that these same persons have an opportunity to react to the recommendations and make suggestions for modification. Finally, it is essential that these persons be directly involved in planning the strategies for implementation of these recommendations.
4. Recognizing the need for involvement by present employees in the implementation of these recommendations does not, however, preclude the fact that many (probably most) of those presently employed in CMS will never participate in the system recommended. This is the case for several reasons. First, by the time this system is fully implemented (five to ten years from now), it is reasonable that between 25-50% of those presently employed in CMS will have left the system either to retire or to seek other jobs. Second, there will undoubtedly be many present employees who will find the demands of the system recommended not to be to their liking and will, therefore, opt to remain in the old system until they retire or otherwise disassociate themselves from CMS. Finally, there will be those in the present system who will simply not be able to perform at the levels expected of career teachers though they may well be performing quite adequately in the present structure.

The point of this discussion is to provide a basis for a simple caution. The system that this committee has recommended is logical but it is bound to threaten many interests. Implementation of such recommendations requires considerable courage and a willingness to give up short term advantages to self in favor of the long term benefit to children.

Given these observations and this caution, the committee suggests that the first and most essential prerequisite to the successful implementation of the recommendations made here is strong and knowledgeable commitment from the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education, administrators and teachers in the school system. This commitment alone is not sufficient to ensure implementation of these recommendations, but is certainly necessary. In addition, this commitment must include a clear understanding that the recommendations made here require long term and sustained action and that implementation of these recommendations must have high priority in every area of school life, especially the areas of personnel, staff evaluation, and budgetary allocations. For example, the kind of planning and study that will need to be done in order to develop a reasonable strategy for the implementation of these recommendations cannot be done without the commitment of considerable resources. The steering committee should be comprised of teacher leaders and administrators, and some of these persons will need to be relieved from regular duties on a part or full time basis. In addition, funds will need to be found to support the recommended studies and the development of the recommended documents. Furthermore, it is likely that negotiations will need to be undertaken with colleges and universities as well as with state agencies in order to develop the support systems the

recommendations imply. These negotiations will need to be backed by the unified political support of the school board as well as other influential groups and agencies in the area.

Put directly, these recommendations, if implemented will bring about fundamental change in the way school systems are managed, personnel are evaluated and instruction is carried out. The key to implementation is commitment from the school board administrators and teachers and knowledgeable support from community leaders and parents. The key to such support is a clear vision of where one is going and the willingness to seriously attend to the advice of concerned parties as to how best to get there.

The goals stated here seem to the committee to indicate a direction. It is the committee's belief that the thoughtful and careful planning and management many others in CMS will make positive contributions that will assure that the goals set will be achieved. If these goals are achieved children will benefit and CMS will continue to be a model for others to emulate.

The following are general definitions of the positions suggested by the committee:

Provisional Teachers

All professional personnel newly employed in the system will be called provisional teachers regardless of the number of years of teaching experience the person might have had in other school systems. The idea is to convey to the new employee and to others that the first year of employment is a period of testing and trial where it should be expected that supervision and evaluations will be intensive. In unusual cases a person might be labeled a provisional teacher during his/her second year of employment. (e.g., persons who are generally strong as a classroom teacher but who have a glaring weakness which would need to be overcome before advancing into the career structure.)

Career Nominees

Persons who have served at least one year as a provisional teacher and who have been recommended by their principal as a person with considerable potential for advancing to career status will be known as a career nominee. Upon attaining nominee status, the nominee will be assigned to a career teacher who will serve in the role of mentor/preceptor to the nominee.

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Career Candidate

Persons who have served a year as a career nominee will be known as career candidates if they have received a positive recommendation from the building principal and others with evaluative authority. (The committee has not made any recommendations regarding the role the career teacher/preceptor should play in this evaluation, but this is an issue that must be addressed prior to implementation.)

Professional Internship

A general idea of the internship is spelled out in Recommendations XII and XIII. It is important to understand that the intent of this position is to provide those who occupy it with opportunities to work directly with other teachers and with administrators on instructional problems and with opportunities to observe building level and system level activities that are virtually invisible to a teacher who spends all day in a classroom. It is the committee's view that the provision of such opportunities is essential to the development of outstanding teachers who are committed to the overall health of the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools. It is also the committee's view that the opportunity to occupy such a position will serve as a

job-enrichment incentive and could be made to symbolize the fact that the persons occupying the position have already demonstrated their outstanding qualities and were about to become officially recognized for these qualities by promotion to career status.

Career Teachers

Persons who have successfully fulfilled each of the positions described above and successfully participated in those forms of training required of them in these positions would be designated career teachers. It is the committee's view that promotion to career status should be accompanied by a substantial salary increase and be subject to special public notice.

A General Comment

Though not specifically contained in the recommendations of this report, the committee is generally of the opinion that some career teachers would be eligible to occupy a "higher" career status. Furthermore, those who occupied this "higher" status would be subject to special expectations and given special rewards. For example, occupants of this "higher" status might be expected to accept temporary assignments in schools experiencing instructional problems in their area of expertise and to provide leadership in the resolution of these problems.

It is also important to understand that the intent of this pattern of staffing is to keep good teachers in the classroom not to get them out of the classroom. Thus, it is expected that those who occupy the career positions would be teachers of children. What distinguishes the career teacher, as the committee has conceptualized the role, is that the career teacher would be expected to serve as a model and preceptor for other teachers as well as a model for children. Thus, those who arrive at career status would be expected to teach teachers at the same time they are teaching children just as outstanding surgeons teach aspiring surgeons at the same time they are caring for their patients.

Appendix B

On the page that follows is a chart that presents the alternative career patterns that might be followed by a new employee in the Charlotte-Mecklenburg School System.

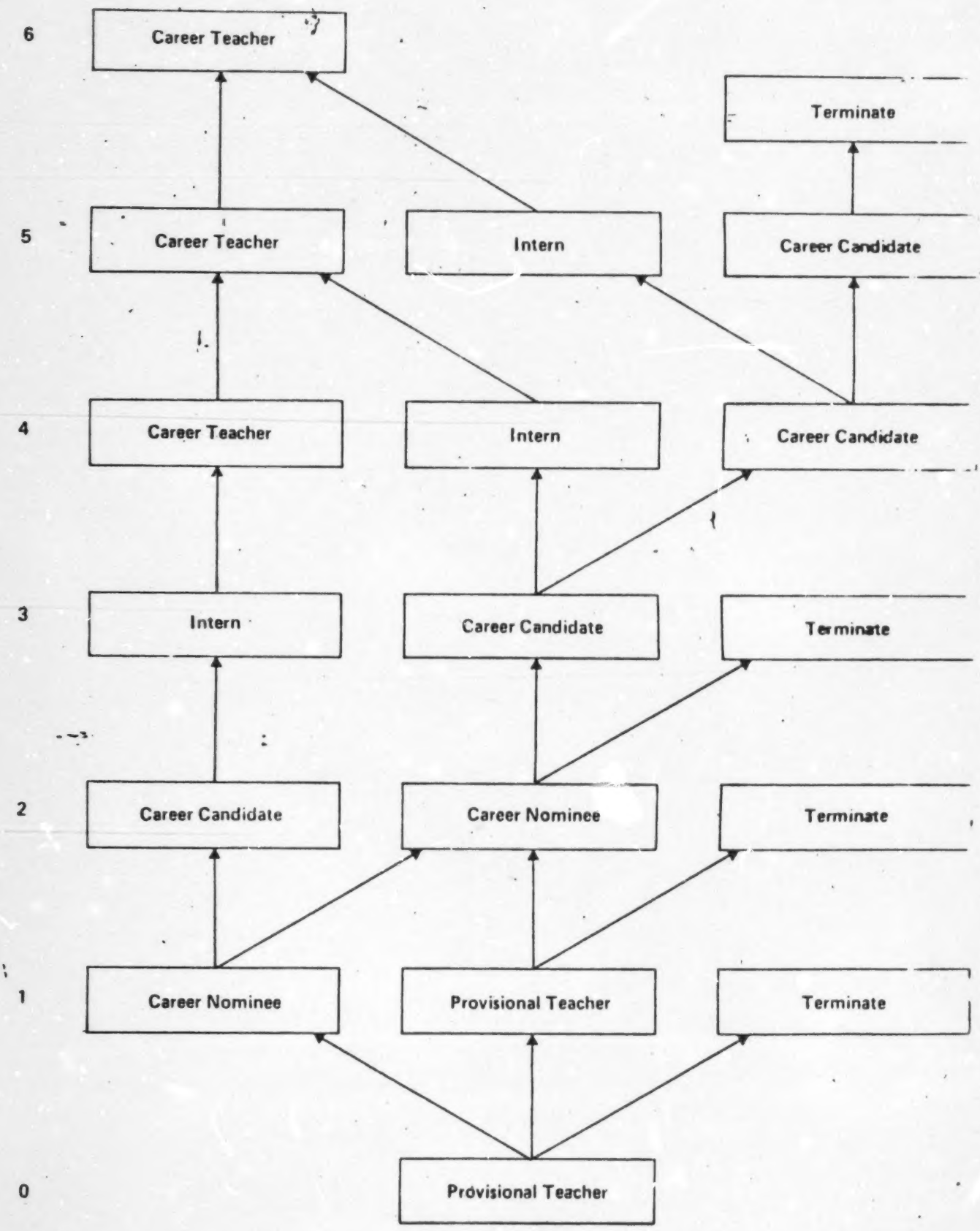
1. During the first year (labeled 0), all professional employees would be in provisional status.

2. At the end of the first year, one of three options would be exercised: a) the provisional teacher would become a career nominee, b) the provisional teacher would be assigned a second year with provisional status, or c) the provisional teacher would be terminated.

3. At the end of the second year, those who had arrived at career nominee status would be subject to two options: either to advance to career candidacy or remain a second year as a career nominee. Provisional teachers would, at the end of their second year, either be terminated or nominated for career status.

4. At the end of the third year of employment, persons who had not achieved career candidate status would be terminated. Those who had achieved career candidacy prior to the third year could either continue as a career candidate or be offered an internship.

5. From the end of the third year forward, all persons would either be career candidates or interns and by the end of the fourth year, some would be career teachers. Thus, it would be possible for some people to become career teachers in four years, others in five years, and still others in six years. If the committee's recommendations are followed, however, any person who had not achieved career status by the end of the sixth year would be terminated.


No. of Years Employed in CMS
6
Career Teacher
Terminate
5
Career Teacher
Intern
Career Candidate
4
Career Teacher
Intern
Career Candidate
3
Intern
Career Candidate
Terminate
2
Career Candidate
Career Nominee
Terminate
1
Career Nominee
Provisional Teacher
Terminate
0
Provisional Teacher

PROPOSED TIME LINE

Recognizing that the recommendations of this committee call for a comprehensive approach to planning and implementation and recognizing that such a comprehensive approach must involve a variety of constituencies in both planning and implementation and recognizing that such involvement and participation precludes the establishment of formal time lines beyond the preliminary stages, the committee suggests the following:

(1) Within 30 days subsequent to the time that the school board formally endorses Recommendation I in this report and subsequent to the time that the school board endorses the other recommendations contained in this report or modifications thereof, a steering committee should be appointed. This steering committee should represent those agencies and constituencies that in the judgment of the superintendent have a vital stake in these recommendations when acted upon. However, it should not be the prerogative of the steering committee to modify directions established by the recommendations endorsed by the school board without the prior approval of the school board or of the superintendent operating on behalf of the school board. The task of the steering committee, therefore, is to assure that the recommendations endorsed by the school board are implemented effectively and efficiently.

(2) Within 30 days following the appointment of the steering committee, an appropriate staff should be designated to manage the planning task and subsequent implementation tasks contained in these recommendations.

(3) Within 12 months of the formation of a planning/implementation staff, the school board should be presented with a comprehensive plan regarding how the recommendations should be acted on. This plan should include at least the following:

   (a) Specific recommendations regarding evaluation procedures that will be used to determine eligibility for achieving career status (as the term "career status" is employed in this report). These recommendations should be addressed both to teachers who will be new to the system and to teachers who are presently employed in the system.

   (b) Specific recommendations regarding how present employees will be afforded opportunities to participate in the new system, criteria those who elect to participate must meet and the expectations that will be imposed upon them.

(c) Specific recommendations regarding the ways in which these recommendations might be financed and supported.

(d) Specific recommendations regarding the design of training activity and the ways in which the training should be provided. These recommendations should include detailed attention to the ways evaluators should be trained as well as to the ways present teachers and new teachers will be trained to meet the expectations of these evaluators.

(e) Also contained in this report should be a detailed description of the resource requirements needed to respond to the recommendations made in (a)-(d) above including short-term (i.e., 1-5 year) projections and long-term (i.e., more than 5 years) projections.

(f) It is also hoped that the plan presented to the board will include detailed time lines along with suggestions regarding the ways in which present resource allocations might be modified to offset the obviously increased demands this system would impose on the taxpayers of Charlotte-Mecklenburg.

In regard to this last recommendation, the committee is convinced that what we are proposing will certainly not cost less than the present system and in the long run it may cost more. The committee is further convinced that school systems that expect more must be willing to pay more. The system this committee is recommending expects more.

APPENDIX F

"A Suggested Strategy for Developing a Plan to Implement the Recommendations of the Merit Pay Study Committee"

APPENDIX F

A Suggested Strategy for Developing a Plan To Implement the Recommendations of the Merit Pay Study Committee

Goal # 1: To create a career structure in the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools that provides increased opportunities for promotion, economic gain, and public recognition and honor for those teachers who demonstrate long term capacity to perform in exemplary ways and those teachers who evidence long term commitment to continuing as exemplary classroom teachers in the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools.

Goal # 2: To develop a system of training and evaluation that supports the achievement of goal number one.

In order to achieve the above goals, the following steps are recommended:

Step 1: Creation of A Career Structure

The first step requires the development of a detailed description of the various roles and expectations suggested by those roles as per the guidelines recommended by the Merit Pay Study Committee.

Step 2: Evaluation and Training

Step two involves a) the development of a set of procedures and guidelines for evaluating the performance of persons in each of the roles described in the career structure and b) the creation of a training program to support the development and maintenance of the knowledge and skills required by those roles.

Step 3: Creation of A Strategic Plan

This step involves the development of a strategic plan with alternative cost estimates, time lines and provisions for contingencies.

Step 4: Submission of Plan and School Board Review

Step four involves the preparation of a document for review by the school board. This document would present a long range plan for achieving the goals set forth by the Merit Pay Study Committee and would contain projections for at least fifteen years with detailed plans and projections for implementation over the first five years. It should also contain alternatives and options with each alternative related to projected costs and benefits.

Step 1. Creating A Career Structure.

Decisions regarding the specific aspects of an appropriate career structure cannot be made until the planning process is underway. However, it is possible to illustrate the kind of career staging that might result from such planning. The following is such an illustration:

Provisional Teacher. The role of the provisional teacher would be very similar to the role of present first year teachers in CMS with the following exceptions:

1. All first year teachers, regardless of prior experience outside CMS, would be considered provisional teachers.

2. Performance evaluations of first year teachers would be designed in such a way as to provide a documented basis for recommendations for advancement to the position of career nominee. Where such documentation cannot be developed, but where there is evidence of continuing promise, the person would be continued as a provisional teacher for a second year. However, after that year, the absence of a basis for a positive recommendation would result in termination.

3. It would be expected that provisional teachers would participate in specially designed training programs intended to orient them to CMS and to encourage the development of positive commitments to the values and goals of the system. In addition, this training would be designed to assure that first year teachers become aware of ways of describing and analyzing classroom events and diagnosing instructional problems.

4. Participation in the training program described above would be a part of the job expectations of a provisional teacher, and evaluations of the provisional teacher's performance in these training programs would be a part of the overall evaluation of the first year teacher.

5. Each beginning teacher would be assigned to a career teacher who would serve as an advisor and mentor. The job of the advisor would be to assist the first year teacher in analyzing any problems he/she is having and to suggest ways of dealing with these problems, to help the beginning teacher locate

appropriate assistance, and when needed, to provide tutoring to support the successful completion of the first year training program. (It should be emphasized, that the training program would be job-related, much as the training program of first year physicians (interns) is job-related. It is not expected that the training programs designed would consist of conventional college courses).

Career Nominee. The role of the career nominee would be similar to the role of the provisional teacher. A person in this position would continue to teach, would participate in specially designed training programs, and would continue to be carefully evaluated and closely supervised by appropriate personnel (e.g., the principal and established career teachers). The basic difference in the role of career nominee and provisional teacher would be that the career nominee would, by virtue of the position occupied, have some concrete assurance that his/her performance so far was complying with the standards of excellence expected and required by the system and that with continued progress he/she can anticipate becoming a career teacher. A second difference would be that the career nominee would be assigned to a different career teacher than was assigned during the provisional year, thereby expanding the number of professional colleagues who have detailed knowledge of the nominee's strengths. Such an assignment should create the basis for the kind of social and professional bonds and loyalties that would support future growth.

Career Candidate. Arrival at the position of career candidate should signify to the candidate that he/she is the kind of professional CMS values highly and is thus one in whom the system is willing to make major investments and from whom much would be expected. During the candidate year, and perhaps during the summer subsequent to that year, the candidate would be expected and required to engage in activity that indicated that he/she had a commitment to the school system equal to the commitment the system had to him/her. For example, it might be expected that the candidate would continue to participate in specially designed training programs, would develop and implement improvement oriented research projects in his/her own classroom, and would begin to take leadership roles in building level problem solving groups. It might also be expected that as a pre-requisite to being afforded the opportunity to become an intern (which would represent a major system investment in the candidate) the candidate would volunteer to participate in an intensive summer training program designed to prepare him/her to participate effectively in the internship program. Again, all of these activities would be carefully evaluated.

It seems reasonable to expect that the candidate year would be a time of decision for many potential career teachers. They

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must decide whether they really want to be a career teacher in CHS or whether they want to pursue some other occupation. Certainly some will choose to leave, but all, or almost all, of those who stay will be of excellent quality. However, given the demands and qualities expected of career teachers, it is imperative that the position of career teacher and the long run opportunities of that position be roughly comparable to opportunities in other occupations. In brief, if the system is to expect outstanding persons to make the kinds of commitments the career structure outlined here would require (and without such commitments high quality cannot be assured), the system must provide long term incentives to encourage such commitments.

Intern Year. The purpose of the internship year would be to provide the prospective career teacher with training and experiences that would give him/her a system-wide view of CHS. It is also intended that the internship would establish networks and understandings that would serve as sources of continuing support in future years, and would assure the opportunity to refine skills necessary to carry out the duties of a career teacher. For example, during the intern year it would (or could) be expected that the intern would design and conduct workshops for other teachers, assist curriculum specialists in the diagnosis of instructional problems, perhaps work with some provisional teachers experiencing difficulties, etc. At the same time, the work in these expanded roles would be carefully supervised. It is critical to understand, however, that it would be anticipated that few who arrive at intern status would fail to achieve career status, since the prior screening would have been sufficiently rigorous to preclude many failures.

Career Teacher Level I. It is anticipated that career teachers would continue to teach in regular classrooms. In addition, they would carry out the advisory and mentor tasks indicated above and assume leadership in building-level program development activity. For example, career teachers would be expected to provide leadership for self study, conduct building level inservice, provide leadership in the implementation of new or improved teaching materials and be prepared to test materials and procedures that are being considered for adaption. It is also likely that career teachers would play some role in the evaluation of provisional teachers, career nominees and career candidates and perhaps would become involved in peer assessments as well.

Given the fact that career teachers will already have demonstrated their competence to perform, the most critical concern is providing them with incentives to continue to perform as well as they can and providing them with training to maintain their skills. Several strategies might be used. First, on a regular basis, each career teacher's

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performance could be reviewed by a team of administrators and other career teachers to determine whether or not the career teacher is deserving of promotion or some form of special salary increase. Such reviews should take place about once every 3-5 years, but the reviews should be based on documented performance appraisals that have occurred on a more short term basis (e.g., annually or quarterly). Second, decisions regarding whether the teacher should be recommended for promotion or special salary considerations should take into account not only performance in the classroom but also performance as a mentor and performance in continuing education activities that are designed to maintain currency. Third, those persons whose performance appraisals indicate that they are maintaining a level of performance that is outstanding might be designated candidates for career level II. Fourth, the number of career level II positions available might be limited in a way that assured that being nominated for such a position clearly indicated a distinct honor, even above that of career level I.

Career Teacher Level II. Persons who occupy this position would gain access to it through satisfying four conditions. These are:

1. demonstrated capacity to perform in outstanding ways in the role of career teacher

2. willingness to participate in specially designed training programs intended to develop sophisticated skills in the identification of the nature and sources of instructional problems, skills in designing research and development projects to address these problems, and skills in leading other adults in the development of strategies intended to resolve the identified problems

3. demonstrated capacity to engage in the kinds of activities indicated in 2 above

4. willingness to be transferred from school to school as the need for their special talents and skills become recognized and are called for.

Put directly, career level II teachers should be viewed as organizational trouble shooters who have special skill in solving, and helping others to solve, instructional problems at the building and classroom level. (This is something like the role of the coordinating teacher as it is now intended to operate, with the exception that career level II teachers would likely spend much of their time in the direct instruction of children.)

Like career level one teachers, career level II teachers would be evaluated on a regular basis, and periodically (e.g., 3-5 years), decisions regarding their further promotion (to career level III) would be made. (Here it should be noted that there are likely to be many career level I teachers who

would not choose to be career level II teachers, even if the system were willing for them to do so. Similarly, many career level II teachers may not want to be promoted further, even though they might qualify for such a promotion. The critical point is, however, that the individual who performs in an outstanding manner has an opportunity for advancement.

Career Teacher Level III. Career level III persons would be expected to carry out many of the functions now carried out by curriculum specialists, area coordinating teachers and in-service specialists. Indeed, in the long run, having achieved the career level III status might be a prerequisite for being considered for these roles. Among other things, the career level III teacher would be expected to have demonstrated competence in program evaluation, personnel evaluation, program design, and the conduct of research on teaching, learning, and curriculum. Again, periodic performance reviews would be conducted. Outstanding performances could be honored in a variety of ways (e.g., special support to attend conferences, opportunities to initiate special projects, and opportunities to direct system-wide improvement efforts or special programs).

Step 2. Evaluation and Training

Specific procedures and criteria for evaluation cannot be developed until the career structure is developed. Similarly, it is impossible to specify training activities until the job descriptions are clearly defined. However, some general comments and illustrations can be presented.

With regard to evaluation, it must be understood that, for the most part, evaluations must be conducted on a long term basis and by numerous individuals. Furthermore, evaluations should be conducted in ways that emphasize the development of successful persons, rather than the "weeding out" of unsuccessful persons. "Weeding out" the unsuccessful should be a by-product of promoting and encouraging the successful. For example, if evaluators understood that their recommendations for promotion were to be as carefully scrutinized as their recommendations for the dismissal of tenured teachers are now scrutinized, those who would be recommended for success would most probably deserve the recommendation.

With regard to training, the critical fact is that the training should be work related and should be supportive of short term improvement of performance as well as the encouragement and maintenance of excellence in the long run. In brief, training should not be simply the accumulation of more degrees, more credit hours, and more certificates.

The following gives some notion of what evaluation and training might look like, if one assumes the career structure mentioned earlier (i.e., provisional teacher, career nominee, career candidate, intern, and career teacher)

1. The evaluation of teachers should systematically take into account the quality of the teacher's performance in staff development programs and activities as well as performance in the classroom.

2. All provisional teachers should be provided with an orientation to the Charlotte-Mecklenburg School System. In addition to the usual things handled in orientations (e.g., policies, resources), teachers new to the system should be required to engage in a study of the CMS curriculum K-12 and a study of the recent history of CMS with special emphasis on the politics of the school system, the history of desegregation and the history of the present form of organization. At the same time, they should be provided with information and/or workshops that inform them about decision making processes in the school system, lines of authority, etc. Furthermore, the system should develop a test to assess the teachers' understanding of this information, and scores on this test should be taken into account in performance evaluation.

3. During the first year, teachers should undergo a series of training activities aimed at improving their ability to describe and analyze classroom events. The Madelyn Hunter materials or some locally developed variant of these materials could provide a sensible introductory base. Again, it would be required that teachers demonstrate mastery of the concepts and procedures that are taught both in classroom performances and in test settings.

4. During the second year, it would be reasonable to require teachers, in cooperation with their assigned mentor and the building

principal, to file a growth plan. It is also reasonable that the teacher and the mentor be required to present evidence that a) the plan was implemented and b) it had the intended effects on performance.

5. In addition to the individual growth plan, during the second year a teacher might well be expected and required to enroll in a specially developed graduate course aimed at creating an awareness of recent research and development in the area of classroom management, direct teaching, time on task, and perhaps tests and measurements. Again, it is recommended that teachers be required to demonstrate mastery of these concepts as a part of performance evaluation.

6. During the third year of employment, the teacher should be expected and required to enroll in a specially tailored course aimed at developing skills in action research and to carry out, with appropriate technical assistance from curriculum specialists, C.T.s, and/or college personnel, at least one problem-oriented research project. This project should be aimed at generating information that would assist the teacher in dealing with a problem he or she had identified in the classroom.

7. During the internship year, the teacher would be expected to develop and implement at least one inservice activity based on the results of the research conducted during the preceding year. In addition, during this year, the teacher should undergo formal course work intended to develop skills and understandings in the areas of program evaluation, planning, and adult leadership. Performance in these areas should be taken into account in the system of performance evaluation.

Step 3. Creation of A Strategic Plan

The development of a long term comprehensive plan is critical to the success of a change as extensive as the one that has been proposed. It is not possible at this time to provide details of such a plan, but the following questions are illustrative of the kinds of issues such a plan must address:

1. How should the new system be phased in? For example, how do present teachers get into the new system if they choose to do so? Should priority be given to providing early opportunity for teachers with more seniority since these persons will be likely to retire before full implementation?

2. Given standards for admission to the new system, training requirements and the demographic profile of existing faculty, what proportion of the existing faculty is likely to pursue entry, what proportion is likely to be successful, and what would the cost be if all who wanted to, and could, qualify were permitted to do so?

3. Once the system is fully implemented, what would be the maximum annual cost beyond present budget requirements? What would be the minimum?

4. What would the start up costs be (minimum and maximum)?

5. How much would training cost and how would the training be related- if at all-to existing incentive systems (e.g., state and local salary schedules that honor master's degrees, doctorates etc., the Incentive Pay Program)?

6. How would initial evaluators and trainers be identified, how would they be trained, and how would they be evaluated? What incentives (if any) would these persons be offered?

7. Assuming state laws and policies cannot be changed, how far could CMS go toward developing a logical system? What changes in state law would be needed to make the system work at an optimal level? What is the feasibility of getting such changes (a) in the short run? (b) in the long run? What contingency plans are there to take into account the barriers that might be met if state law cannot be changed, and/or local funding cannot be provided at an optimal level.

8. How would the effects and effectiveness of the new system be evaluated?

Step 4. Submission of Plan and School Board Review

Once a detailed plan has been prepared, the school board and the Superintendent should have sufficient data to make informed decisions regarding which of the alternative strategies would be the most appropriate for implementation as well as data regarding the funding levels required to support each of the alternatives. It is only after such a detailed plan has been approved that actual implementation would begin.

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